



Shirley, you must be joking

The Labour Party's defectors
have more support
from the press than from the
grassroots.



An interview with I.F. Stone

THE INSIDE STORY



HIS FANTASY, TATTOO?... HE WANTS TO CUT TAXES, INCREASE DEFENSES AND BALANCE THE BUDGET ALL AT THE SAME TIME!!!

Mixed feelings make for strange policies

By John Judis

Do Ronald Reagan's attacks on big government and his call for increased defense spending accord with the perceptions and wishes of the American people? Current opinion polls suggest that they do.

But these polls also suggest that public attitudes are deeply contradictory: an insistence on balanced budgets and increased defense spending coexists with support for social spending and opposition to military intervention.

Together, these attitudes do not amount to a mandate, but rather a recipe for administration failure and popular disappointment.

Anti-government sentiment.

Popular economic views remain rooted in the 17th and 18th-century vision of government intruding upon a pristine state of nature ruled over by a self-regulating free-market system. The state performs certain necessary tasks—chiefly, protecting property and life—but if it extends much beyond these, it is likely to destroy what it is meant to preserve.

Since the Great Depression, Americans have grudgingly granted the state some added functions, but the Lockean vision remains intact, and with the decline of the U.S. economy in the '70s, that vision has contributed to and reinforced the right-wing vilification of "big government."

But as political scientists Lloyd A. Free and Hadley Cantril point out in *The Political Beliefs of Americans*, this Lockean vision sometimes coexists with vigorous support for individual government programs. Free and Cantril speak of a conflict between "ideological" and "operational" attitudes. This conflict is evident in current popular thinking.

Reagan's most persistent Lockean theme, enunciated clearly in his inaugural address, is that "government is not the solution to our problem; government is the problem." In a January *New York Times*/CBS (NYT/CBS) poll, 65 percent of the respondents agreed that "government creates more problems than it solves," while only 19 percent thought that it "solves more problems than it creates."

In a November NYT/CBS poll, 65 percent agreed that "government has gone too far in regulating business and interfering with the free enterprise system," while only 27 percent disagreed. This was an increase in anti-government sentiment from January 1978 when 58 percent agreed and 31 percent disagreed, and from 1964 when only 42 percent agreed and 39 percent disagreed.

In policy terms, this tendency creates widespread support for the Reagan campaigns against government spending and regulation. And it buttresses the popular fascination with the balanced budget as the cure for inflation. In the NYT/CBS poll, 70 percent surveyed

preferred a balanced budget to a large tax cut, while 52 percent (to 41 percent) preferred a balanced budget over an increase in military spending.

But true to the Free-Cantril model, the American public doesn't "operationally" support the measures necessary for smaller government and a balanced budget—drastic reductions in federal spending. Combining the totals in the NYT/CBS poll favoring either the current level or an increase in spending, one finds 89 percent opposed to a reduction in military spending or social security cost-of-living benefits, 75 percent opposed to mass transit reductions, 72 percent opposed to reductions in unemployment compensation or benefits for college students, and 81 percent opposed to reductions in highway spending.

The public also has mixed feelings in practice about the Reagan campaign against government regulation. A case in point is federal spending on and regulation of the environment.

In the NYT/CBS poll, 77 percent thought federal funds for "controlling pollution" should not be reduced; 31 percent thought they should be increased. And support for environmental causes has not abated during the last 10 years; if anything, it has grown broader in class composition.

Pro-defense, anti-intervention.

American foreign policy views don't go back to Locke, but to Brooks Adams and Theodore Roosevelt, as refined by Dean Acheson, Paul Nitze and Harry Truman. In accordance with these views, Americans identify their national well-being with their ability to maintain privileged access to—in some cases, direct control over—foreign markets. Viewed through this prism, Americans have seen the loss of Vietnam, the emergence of OPEC and the ouster of the U.S.-backed Shah as direct threats to American well-being.

Aided by a certain amount of establishment manipulation, Americans have also tended to overestimate Soviet arms strength and to read Soviet actions as parts of a plan for eventual world domination. Viewed through this prism, the Soviet achievement of strategic parity, the Soviet-Cuban adventures in Africa, and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan have alarmed many Americans and lent support to Reagan's new militarism.

The January NYT/CBS poll found that 52 percent of Americans now favor making the U.S. superior militarily to the Soviet Union, while only 39 percent favor equality. Sixty-one percent support increasing "military and defense programs," while only 7 percent think they should be decreased.

These results show a marked change over the '70s. In 1971, a Harris poll showed 49 percent favoring a decrease in defense spending and only 11 percent favoring an increase. As late as 1978, a Gallup poll found only 32 percent favoring an increase.

But while there is strong support for increased defense spending, there is not strong support for the other component of a foreign policy aimed at shoring up the American empire: the credible threat of American military intervention. There is increased support for the use of troops against a Soviet invasion of Western Europe—from 39 percent in 1974 to 67 percent in 1980—but there is not substantial support for American intervention in Vietnam-type situations in Asia, Africa or Latin America—the situations where the Reagan administration might find intervention desirable. For instance, in December 1974 the Harris poll found that only 14 percent favored American military involvement if the North Koreans invaded the South. In November 1978,

21 percent favored intervention—an increase, but not one upon which a policy can be based.

There is also an abiding fear of war, which shows up in popular fears about Reagan. In the NYT/CBS survey, the greatest fear about Reagan (expressed by 13 percent) was that his policies were "too aggressive" and would "lead to war."

The American response to the hostage release also revealed a lack of bellicosity. In the NYT/CBS survey, only 10 percent thought that the U.S. should now "take some military action against Iran," while 63 percent thought the U.S. should "abide by the terms of the agreement." And 49 percent thought that if the U.S. had "taken a tough stand" earlier, it would have "made things worse," while only 43 percent favored a tougher stand.

In short, American sentiments about defense are primarily defensive. The American public wants more defense spending in the belief that it will prevent, not facilitate, war. On one level, this makes sense, but in terms of the Reagan administration's aims, it does not. Without the threat of intervention in the Third World, an American defense buildup will count little, except in the coffers of the defense industry.

Hopelessness and optimism.

People who hold contradictory beliefs tend to be a little crazy, and there is a certain insanity about the way the American public views the new Reagan administration. On the one hand, it regards it with unvarnished optimism. According to the NYT/CBS survey, 69 percent are "optimistic" about the Reagan years, while only 13 percent are "pessimistic," virtually the same ratio of hope and gloom that greeted Jimmy Carter in 1977. This optimism is based on irrational and wholly undeserved projection of magical powers onto the American presidency.

On the other hand, the public is pessimistic about the administration's ability to accomplish its goals. Fifty-five percent think Reagan will not be able to balance the budget, 66 percent think he will not be able to do so and cut taxes, and sizeable minorities of 42 and 40 percent respectively think he will not be able to reduce taxes or unemployment.

This skepticism about government reflects some latent recognition of the public's contradictory injunctions. But it also reflects a deep-rooted cynicism about government, which is based on a history of broken political promises and on the absence of any coherent and publicly voiced policy alternatives.

When the NYT/CBS poll asked people who doubted that Reagan would be able to keep his promises whether they thought it was possible for anyone to keep them—or whether they were simply "beyond any president's control"—sizeable majorities said they were beyond control. Eighty-one percent of the doubters thought no president could balance the budget. Sixty-five percent thought no president could lower taxes.

It is hard to figure out what to make of this combination of optimism and hopelessness. A psychiatrist would call it manic depressive, with the qualification that the subject's illusions of grandeur and convictions of failure are projected upon the new administration, and that suicide, the resolution of many manic-depressive psychoses, consists in this case of throwing the president out of office rather than literally killing him.

This would fit the reign of Jimmy Carter, who took office amidst contradictory aims and unbounded hope, and was thrown out four years later. It is likely that it will also characterize the term of Ronald Reagan, a master as well as a servant of public illusions.

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IN THESE TIMES

Labor leaders gently disagree

By David Moberg

BARBARA BOON, F.L.A.

DIFFERENCE IS CLEAR. RESTATED differences with the Reagan administration on domestic economic policies and funding of federal programs, the AFL-CIO at its winter executive council meeting opted for a slow, soft start in expressing those basic disagreements. And despite its serious political defeat last fall, there was only a modest effort to reform labor's political operations to turn back the conservative tide.

As a result, a number of the more liberal union staff and officers were chafing at the reserved, nonantagonistic style of AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland and preparing either to take on Reagan more directly or to begin new political strategies despite AFL-CIO tentativeness.

"We wish the new administration success," Kirkland said at the beginning of a week of meetings of the executive council and various committees. "We have a stake in their success as citizens. We want to cooperate to the maximum extent possible, but we have views, we have opinions that we believe are sound, and we intend to adhere to them."

Among those views, none of which was particularly novel for the AFL-CIO, were criticisms of high interest rates and advocacy of controls on credit and investment; opposition to decontrol of natural gas prices; a proposal for specifically targeted aids to investment under a Reconstruction Finance Corporation, including tax incentives for business directed to needy sectors and geographical areas; support for sector-by-sector reforms in energy, housing, and food and health policies to dampen inflation rather than a general cooling down of the whole economy; and advocacy of controls on both import of goods and export of investment in order to protect U.S. jobs. In addition to expressing support for such threatened policies as Trade Adjustment Assistance, public service employment, and a uniform minimum wage, the executive council offered its own tax-cut program favoring low and middle-income households as an alternative to the Kemp-Roth plan or Reagan's version of it.

But if none of this was sparking new, it did indicate that the AFL-CIO was sticking by its program and not caving in to rightward pressures—none than can be said for many of the democratic legislators that labor supports. It also placed the AFL-CIO squarely at odds with the new administration, even if Kirkland disappointed a number of liberals within the member unions by not being more critical of the developing Reagan initiatives.

"They're cooperating, hoping to get crumbs from the table," one union political worker grumbled. Another liberal noted, "Labor has to be combative. It's not a tea party, it's not a gentlemen's game." But Kirkland, more than sharp-tongued George Meany, enjoys playing the gentleman intellectual, winning influence in the inner circles rather than using his position as a bully pulpit, acting, according to one critic, like a permanent minister of labor, no matter who is in the White House.

A million-plus loss of jobs.

The sharpest comments came after the President's speech outlining what the executive branch called a "high-risk gamble with the future of America. Workers and business share the lion's share of the cost. The burden on workers are the heaviest, and on the individuals or corporations that are negotiating with Reagan's administration are the heaviest. The council is looking for substituting that lost power for social responsibility and human concerns. They shortchange social economic growth by cutting back programs to achieve energy

independence, rebuild the nation's transportation system, revitalize urban areas and safeguard the environment."

The AFL-CIO's preliminary analysis of the proposed tax and budget cuts estimates a loss of 1,100,000 jobs and a cut in federal allocation of income supply of \$17.5 billion—a regressive redistribution. The council did not criticize the increased military outlays, but argued that the trade-off of social programs for more guns was unnecessary, unfair and "risked undermining support for military spending among the poor, minorities, and workers who have a stake in the domestic programs slated for the meat axe."

There was less unity among the individual union leaders. For example, Thomas Gleason, the 80-year-old president of the East Coast longshoremen, called Reagan's speech "good." "He should be given a chance to put it in," he said, comparing Reagan's position to that of Roosevelt in 1933. But Jerry Wurf of AFS-CME, reflecting the public workers union opinion, said that "perhaps the thing that bothered me the most is that here's a new president proposing exactly the opposite of FDR and giving it this reasonable appearance. He will be able to reward the rich and screw the poor. The end result is the quality of life in the U.S. will be diminished."

Although Machinists president William Winpisinger warned that the Reagan chops could provoke "war in the streets," he argued that "we should not expend the good coin of our credibility fighting the budget cuts. We should state our position very firmly and forthrightly, but let the president run the country. Let people find out what they voted for. The only way to get America on track is to give them a clear sense of the alternatives."

Getting back into politics.

One of the central concerns of many unions during the week was getting labor on track politically. Kirkland had indicated before the meetings began that he was interested in the AFL-CIO endorsing presidential candidates during the primaries. Currently many individual unions make such endorsements, but the AFL-CIO as an organization waits in most cases until after the party nominating convention for its endorsement. Although the sense of the council meeting strongly supported such a move, a committee was appointed to work out many technical questions—not the least of which will be how to achieve some measure of unity among member unions who have split so sharply over candidates in the recent past.

"It's a halting but somewhat significant forward step," Winpisinger said. Although neither the Machinists' Non-Partisan League nor AFSCME have contributed to COPE (The Committee on Political Education) for several years, they might link up again if a new strategy develops. Winpisinger wants to mount a massive effort to "identify the liberal constituency, including many of those who stayed home on election day—which constitutes the biggest party—because there was no candidate in the field that represented their views, and to make it an identifiable, cohesive unit of individuals who share the basic concerns of the labor movement and its allies." Labor might be the quarterback and tight end in this team, he said, but a full squad will require a whole new coalition. The Machinists' plan, which they could implement on their own with other labor allies if COPE doesn't buy it, involves grassroots activity by labor and its coalition partners to gain control of the Democratic Party.

But Winpisinger's vision—based on the assumption that there is a need to build a new force on the left to counter the growing convergence of the Democratic and Republican parties—goes contrary to another strong trend in the AFL-CIO. Kirkland, for example, repeatedly stressed that labor's new political strategy

should be directed towards both Republicans and Democrats, on the grounds that many union members are Republicans anyway, that labor occasionally favors and must therefore work more effectively for moderate Republicans, and that any controversial legislation usually requires some support from each party. Instead of trying to make the two parties more ideologically identifiable and cohesive, this strategy would attempt to increase labor's influence in each of the diffuse parties.

Teachers Union president Albert Shanker defended this strategy as a way of cutting losses: "At one time I wanted a more European system," Shanker said, "I wanted parties that stood for something; now I want parties that are more like each other. It's a question of whether you want to win or lose big—or win or lose moderately. When you have big stakes you want to reduce the losses."



Lane Kirkland's reactions to the Reagan administration have been statesmanlike or fainthearted depending on where you stand.

In either case the relation of labor to potential allies comes into question. "In the Roosevelt years we were the central political force of liberal Democratic successes," California State Federation president John Henning said, "Now new liberal forces have raised their voices—the forces of racial equality, women, environmentalists, youth—so now we share."

But that sharing has discomfited many old-style labor political figures. COPE director Al Barkan, who will continue in office for the rest of this year despite passing the retirement age of 70, reportedly fought in his now-accustomed fashion in the COPE meetings against "the crazies, kooks and queers" that he sees taking over the Democratic Party. He believes that Bella Abzug and gay-rights advocates give the party an image that

drives away blue-collar voters. Barkan also rejected a coalition with anyone except a few paper AFL-CIO groups ruling out specifically the Americans for Democratic Action (although five national union presidents are vice-chairs of ADA) and Lee Webb's Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies. Nevertheless the AFL-CIO will proceed to reconstitute a budget coalition formed last year to deal with the Reagan spending cuts.

COPE's political advisor, Richard Scammon, had earlier sounded a similar note, denouncing the "intellectualizing of the party" as "coloring the party a vivid shade of pink" and discounting the defeat of senators Bayh, McGovern, Culver and Church as less serious than the loss of some southern Democratic conservative seats. This brand of politics is also very much in tune with Reagan on foreign policy. Kirkland, for example, declined to comment on all of Reagan's

Bob Gumpert

POLITICS

Citizens Party looks to state and local races

By Richard J. Walton

CINCINNATI, OHIO

THE CITIZENS PARTY HELD ITS first post-election national committee meeting here on Feb. 14 and 15. And the more than 100 delegates and observers from 24 states (several active state organizations did not send delegations for lack of money) seemed convinced that the Citizens Party had survived the election, and that it would not have existed as a national organization were it not for the campaign.

Barry Commoner and LaDonna Harris received about 270,000 votes in Novem-

ber—considerably less than was hoped for. The generally-accepted analysis of the election is simple: a last-minute fear of Ronald Reagan caused tens of thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands, to vote for Jimmy Carter rather than Commoner. The Anderson campaign also hurt Commoner badly. And, of course, the party was grossly outspent—the entire media budget, for instance, was \$5,429. There was, too, an almost complete blackout by the major national press except, of course, for the “bullshit” radio commercial.

But while no one pretended the presidential campaign was a great success or minimized the many obstacles to the Citizens Party's growth as a significant poli-

tical force, there was considerable optimism based on the election and developments since then. For example, the party now has a mailing list of 13,000 contributors. In Illinois Denise Rose received more than 80,000 votes for University of Illinois trustee. In Vermont Robin Lloyd got about 12 percent in a Congressional race—and more than 24 percent in Burlington, where the party is now engaged in several city council races. In Philadelphia Max Weiner, congressional candidate of the Consumers Party (a 15-year-old progressive party that is the Citizens Party arm in Pennsylvania) got 10 percent of the vote and the endorsement of the city's three major newspapers. In Atlanta two party members are on the non-partisan city council.

The delegations made it plain the party was not going to sit around until 1984. In New York City, the Citizens Party is playing a leading role in a coalition effort to find a strong candidate to oppose Mayor Edward Koch. And it plans to run its own candidate for an at-large City Council seat in Manhattan and, possibly, Brooklyn. In Portland, Oregon, the local chapter is entering school board elections

and has been asked to endorse candidates in non-partisan city council races. Already in Los Angeles, upstate New York, Missouri, Iowa, Georgia, New Jersey and Pennsylvania steps have been taken toward races this year and next.

Although Commoner was not in Cincinnati for the formal meetings on Saturday and Sunday (because of a long-standing prior engagement), he did participate in an 11-hour open caucus on Friday and pledged to continue what he has already done since the election: combine his frequent lecture trips with work for the party around the country. (Commoner and Harris were elected co-chairs.)

Commoner stressed that the Citizens Party should not confine itself to defending liberal programs but should put forward imaginative, non-doctrinaire alternatives based on the conviction that most distinguishes the Citizens Party from the Democrats: that corporate dominance of American society is the root cause of most of the nation's major problems. ■

Richard J. Walton, author of Henry Wallace, Harry Truman, and the Cold War, was a Citizens Party delegate from New York.

THE MILITARY

“Unity” eludes anti-draft conference in Detroit

By Patrick Lacefield

DETROIT

WHEN OVER 1,000 ANTI-draft activists arrived at the Wayne State University campus here on Feb. 13 the watchwords were “unity” and “outreach.” The conference called by the Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD)—a coalition of 56 national peace, church, libertarian and left organizations—set its sights on adopting a statement of principles for CARD and an action agenda for the spring.

Despite candidate Ronald Reagan's pledge to halt draft registration during his successful bid for the White House, President Reagan seems loath to do so, and anti-draft activists see signs of a reaffirmation of registration in the wind.

“Caspar Weinberger seems to think that it would be a very serious administrative problem to roll back registration,” Rev. Barry Lynn, chair of CARD, told the opening rally of 1,500.

“We say it's only 4 million pieces of paper. Let's lift the hiring freeze and let Bonzo do it. When Ronald Reagan says that registration has caused some unrest,” Lynn continued, “that's the classic understatement. That's like Noah telling the animals going into the ark that they're in for a little rain.”

The opening plenary included speeches by Detroit City Council president Erma Henderson, Joe Blanding from the United Auto Workers, Dick Greenwood from the Michigan and Ohio representatives from student, black and veterans groups. But the biggest hand—and a standing ovation—went to Arnaldo Ramos from the Salvadoran Democratic Revolutionary Front. “The U.S. anti-draft movement has the solemn responsibility,” Ramos said, “to see to it that Salvadorans will provide Salvadoran solutions to Salvadoran problems.”

As the conference began its Saturday session, unity and outreach gave way all too readily to acrimonious debate over the “statement of principles.” On one side were sects ranging from the Spartacist League to the Revolutionary Communist

Party proposing resolutions to oust all Democrats and Republicans from CARD, to endorse socialist revolution and the like. On the other side the Socialist Workers Party (which, by its own admission, brought over 200 people to the meeting) sought to exclude the libertarians from the coalition by going beyond CARD's stance against “economic conscription” and for “funding human needs” to support for government jobs programs—an anathema to the libertarians’ “free market” dogma.

After a compromise was reached on that question, the conference went on to endorse the March 28 labor demonstration for safe energy in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and national actions in Washington and San Francisco on May 9 against the draft and U.S. intervention in El Salvador and for social spending.

But by Sunday evening the battle over the structure of CARD had sundered the tenuous unity of the first two days. SWP members proposed an open steering committee for CARD on which all local anti-draft groups would sit along with national organizations.

“There is no such thing as excessive democracy,” argued Jim Lafferty of Detroit CARD, claiming that local groups have been given short shrift by the national structure. Others disagreed. Angie Fa of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) and Jim Bristol of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) called the numbers involved “unworkable” and argued that

the SWP would use the structure to set up bogus groups as it did during the Vietnam anti-war period. “This proposal is a floating crap game for anyone who sets up a banana stand,” charged UAW local activist Roger Robinson. But in the final hours the SWP proposal carried by a vote of 160 to 117 when nearly 80 percent of the conference registrants had already left.

Support for CARD's May 9 actions now seems uncertain. Organizations dismayed by the SWP takeover such as DSOC, AFSC, the Libertarians, ACLU, and most of the religious and peace organizations may simply withdraw from CARD or they may attempt to regain control of the organization to insure a broad spectrum of political views and a structure that will allow CARD to step up its outreach to labor and mainstream women's and minority groups.

Barry Lynn, the outgoing CARD chair, summed up the conference in terms of pluses and minuses. “Clearly grassroots activists moved toward a better sense of goals and principles and a unity based on specifics rather than on an unwillingness to address issues like the ‘poverty draft’ and U.S. intervention,” Lynn told *In These Times*. But, he continued, “a sectarian group has attempted to use this conference for its own purposes and to gain control of the entire anti-draft movement. They will not succeed.” ■

Patrick Lacefield is a New York writer and a member of DSOC.

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THE SOUTH



FSC program director John Zippert

Punishment for no crime stalks co-ops

By Boyd Lewis

E P E S, A L A B A M A

SUMTER COUNTY, ALABAMA, HAS the makings of a classic American frontier. Its vast tracts of field and forest untouched by systematic cultivation or industry are dotted with tiny settlements like Epes, Panola and Gainsville. There is even an updated version of the frontier railroad—the \$4 billion Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway Project that runs along Sumter County's eastern boundary.

And to complete the picture Sumter County has its own western Alabama analog of Indians—poor rural blacks.

"The South is the last frontier for economic development," says Joe Brooks of the Atlanta-based Emergency Land Fund, "and the federal government is trying to clear the land for the corporations, to eliminate organizations that serve people so they won't be in the way when the big bucks flow in."

Brooks is a member of the National Committee in Support of Community-Based Organizations, which was formed in October 1980 in response to a rash of grand jury investigations, indictments and administrative attacks on self-help organizations working in the rural South to turn sharecroppers into independent farmers, welfare recipients into wage earners.

These economic development councils, co-ops and credit unions that primarily serve blacks take to heart the Reagan philosophy of doing for yourself and getting off the dole. But in so doing these organizations have also helped tens of thousands of low-income southerners slip out from under the thumb of local governments, merchants and bankers. And according to the support committee, this has triggered a region-wide wave of harassment.

Sumter County is headquarters for the most successful and most embattled of these self-help organizations. The Federation of Southern Cooperatives was founded here 14 years ago when Bond Rogers, owner of a modern-day plantation, evicted a group of black sharecroppers for demanding their fair share of federal cotton subsidy payments and, worse, insisting on their right to vote.

The sharecroppers formed the Panola Land Buyers Association, which became the core of the FSC. Today, the Federation serves as an umbrella, a conduit and an advocate for 130 rural co-ops producing grain, cotton, pulpwood and handicrafts. Its credit unions make low-interest loans to members. And it has corralled some \$15 million in the past 14 years from an alphabet soup of federal agencies for everything from CETA-funded training in housing renovation to buying cucumber seeds from the USDA.

From its hilltop headquarters near Epes, the Federation oversees operations that serve 30,000 low-income southerners from south Texas to the Sea Islands of the Carolinas. The Federation's 1,325 acres are strategically located on the Tenn-Tom Waterway, a glorified barge canal now being carved through Tenn-

essee and Alabama to link inland coalfields with the ports of the Gulf Coast. The Tenn-Tom is the largest public works project now underway in the U.S. and, for all its cost over-runs and environmental drawbacks, its commercial potential has made the Federation's frontage property extraordinarily valuable.

A history of resentment.

Local white antagonism toward the Federation began when the Epes land was purchased from under the nose of developers 10 years ago at a delinquent tax auction. Resentments festered during the 1970s, heightened by a successful school boycott in 1978 during which a former Federation staffer punched out the school superintendent during a tumultuous school board meeting.

More recently racial antagonism has drawn on the new lexicon of conservatism, with local whites grumbling about the Federation's "fiscal irresponsibility" and "waste of the taxpayer's dollar." In May, 1979, between 150 and 200 whites met at a local restaurant with their congressman, Richard Shelby of Tuscaloosa, to complain that they saw no benefit in Sumter County from the federal expenditures and that they suspected fraud. An official of the state board in charge of licensing schools told this group he visited the Federation's education program and couldn't "make heads nor tails of it." A 45-year-old white lawyer named Carl Jacobs who spent four months at the Federation as a VISTA/Judicare consultant said he had been fired for complaining that the program he was assigned to didn't exist.

"It was a spontaneous meeting of people who had concerns about how the Federation was spending tax dollars," said county Probate Judge Sam Massengill, one of three local elected officials who called the meeting. "It's possible that its programs are well run. We just wanted questions answered about the proper spending of federal funds and asked Congressman Shelby to have the Government Accounting Office run a compliance audit."

The congressman queried the GAO and the GAO asked all federal agencies that had given grants or loans to the Federation (90 percent of its total budget last year) whether their program audits had turned up any irregularities.

There were none.

"We had about one week to rejoice after the GAO report," explains John Zippert, director of the Federation's program operations at Epes, "then the FBI came to our Atlanta office to ask for all of our records. They wouldn't say what they were looking for or what criminal activities were suspected."

In December, 1979, Federation executive director Charles Prejean was served with a subpoena to bring all records of all federal contracts from 1975 to 1979 to a grand jury in Birmingham. Senior staffers of the Federation soon found that from 25 to 100 percent of their time was engaged in rounding up the enormous quantity of documents subpoenaed

(40,000 cancelled checks alone).

Director Prejean, Zippert and others felt the federal subpoenas were a "fishing expedition" to placate influential whites who, as Prejean told the *Washington Post*, "figured that with niggers handling a couple of million dollars, somebody's just got to be stealing."

Fourteen months after the first subpoena, the Federation, which has so far turned over ten file cabinets of records to the Justice Department, has yet to receive an indictment.

Program director Zippert estimates that the Federation has lost up to \$500,000 in delayed grants and loans from federal agencies and foundations because of the feeling that "where there's smoke, there must be fire." Legal bills have so far come to around \$50,000.

"The way things are going, I don't believe the Federation as it now exists will exist after March," Prejean said. "We're now determining how much of a cut will be necessary."

The double whammy.

The investigation is proceeding down two tracks. First there is the FBI probe, with field interviews that Federation staffers say are frightening many co-op participants by "leading them to believe that the Federation has done some wrong and asking them whether or not they took part in a criminal act." The FBI agents have even inquired about such things as sexual harassment, which even the most bitter foes of the Federation have not suggested took place.

Second is the records search, orchestrated by the office of the U.S. Attorney for the Northern District of Alabama, J.R.



A meeting at the FSC training center in Epes, Ala.

Brooks.

Ironically, Brooks has a good reputation among Alabama's civil rights community as a fair prosecutor and an opponent of the recent Klan outbreaks in the state. Brooks denies that the Justice Department investigation was instigated by Sumter County's white politicians or that it is being dragged out artificially in an effort to destroy the Federation.

"One of the problems we've had is that this investigation has gone on for so long," Brooks said in his office at the federal courthouse in Birmingham. "But the Federation is in no position to complain about the delay when the delay has been caused by their refusal to comply with the subpoena to turn over records. For example, as of this week (January, 1981) we didn't have all the documents

that were subpoenaed in February of 1980."

An Oct. 22, 1980 letter from the federal prosecutor informed Federation counsel, Howard Moore, that "the FSC programs that are the subject of the grand jury's interest are the Small Farm Energy Conservation Project and the Rural Housing Alliance grant. In addition, the conduct of certain individuals is under scrutiny, primarily to determine whether these persons have converted to their own use property of the United States."

But two months after that letter was received, the National Committee in Support of Community-Based Organizations wrote the head of the Justice Department's criminal division in Washington that Brooks' investigation was far broader than that. The committee asked why Brooks and the FBI launched their investigations without going to the federal agencies that funded the programs in question.

"The prosecutorial function is perhaps the most unbridled in all the government's stable of powers. . . ." wrote committee representatives Les Dunbar and Dr. Mack Jones, ". . . in this situation you are threatening the very life of an organization serving poor people by not bringing forth your evidence."

The issue is power.

Ed Geer, who joined the Federation's Epes training center in 1977, is a valuable asset to the black-run, black-serving organization. White, middle-aged, driving a pickup with a shotgun slung over the driver's seat and wearing the ubiquitous "fertilizer and chawin' tobacco" cap, Geer is a critical liaison with the white community. (He once taught at Livingston University and by some miracle—considering his taint from the Federation folks—was elected president of the Livingston Lions Club.)

"There is a lot of misunderstanding among whites who don't know what the Federation is," said Geer. "They know we've been getting a substantial amount of federal money over the years but don't see the results in Sumter County. They don't know that the Federation is a regional organization and that a lot of the money wasn't spent here."

"I think the Federation is in trouble because it's an organization that wants to help low-income people," said Racanthee Underwood, assistant housing director for the Federation. "When they raise their standards, they become political leaders and change their lifestyles and I think that's the problem."

While the Federation itself can't get involved in elections, staff members and supporters can. The staffer who slugged the white school superintendent is now on the school board, as are two other blacks. The county's only black lawyer, Eddie Hadaway, who became its first black district court judge last November, had informal ties to the Federation. John Zippert's wife Carol was recently elected to the school board of Greene County.

Says program director Zippert: "You can't change economics without changing politics and society. Federation members are natural leaders and they do take part in politics. That's what the civil rights movement was all about. Frederick Douglass said you can't have progress without agitation, and that's what the Federation is involved in. But why have they mobilized the FBI against us? Why not slug it out in the political arena?"

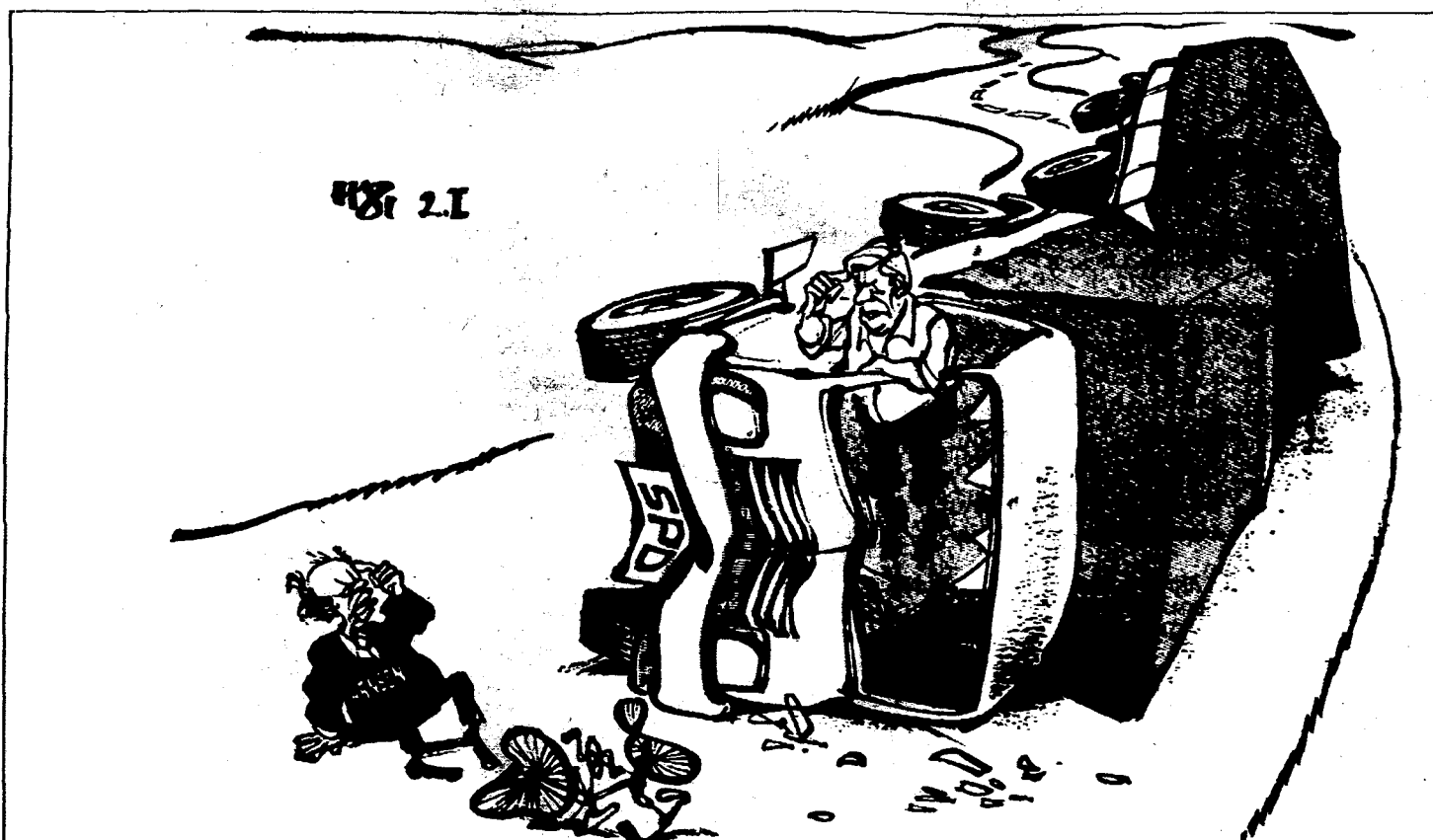
Zippert and others at the FSC know all too well that the issue of federal assistance for the poor, even along the most doctrinaire lines of boot-strap capitalism, will get little sympathy from the Reagan administration. Most of the programs that have provided 90 percent of the Federation's budget are on the chopping block.

Even if the Federation is cleared soon by the Justice Department and FBI—or a convenient scapegoat is indicted on a minor charge—the damage has been done and cuts in Washington will only be the *coup de grace*.

The infected blankets have done their work—the warriors are laid low and the path is cleared for a new wave of corporate settlers to build "the shining city on the hill."

Boyd Lewis produces "Southwind," a radio documentary series on the South, for National Public Radio.

DISARMAMENT



A German cartoonist's view of the collision between Karl Hansen and Helmut Schmidt over arms policies.

Germany catches arms fever

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

A NEW PEACE MOVEMENT is springing up in West Germany, in opposition to the Reagan administration's efforts to force Europe into the arms race. While Chancellor Helmut Schmidt publicly welcomed the ascension of "old friend" Alexander Haig to the reins of power in Washington, discordant noises could be heard from the lower ranks of his own Social Democratic Party (SPD).

Back in December 1979, the SPD convention was persuaded to agree to let the U.S. station Pershing and Cruise nuclear missiles on German soil, but only on the grounds that they were needed to restore balance between NATO and the Warsaw Pact and with the understanding that the U.S. would ratify SALT II and pursue negotiations to reduce arms levels in Europe. Since then, the U.S. has scrapped SALT II and shifted from a policy of parity to an arms buildup aimed at achieving military superiority over the Soviet Union. Much of the SPD feels that since the U.S. has not kept its part of the missile bargain, the deal is off. This sentiment is widely shared in Denmark, Norway, Holland and Belgium.

Since the Bonn coalition government's junior partner, the Free Democratic Party, improved its score to 10 percent of the vote in last October's elections, FDP leader and foreign minister Hans Dietrich Genscher has been throwing his weight around. It is harder than ever to discern traces of SPD principles in Bonn's policy.

Two recent arms export deals have aroused strong opposition. The sale of submarines to Chile is criticized as immoral aid to a regime finance minister Hans Matthofer himself has called "a gang of bloody murderers." The deal to sell about 100 Leopard tanks to Saudi Arabia would in effect end Germany's self-imposed "moral embargo" on arms shipments to "tension zones." Germany has already been taking part in joint arms manufacture with countries like France that sell to all takers, and thus in practice was not strictly holding to the restriction. But the Saudi deal is seen as the signal for Germany's full-scale entrance into the arms race.

Champions of the arms trade are trying to drum up labor support by stressing all the jobs involved. So far, even with unemployment rising sharply (up to a record 1.3 million), German labor has not bought that line. The Hamburg and Kiel metalworkers—who supposedly stand to benefit from the submarine deal

—spoke out against it. German metalworkers (IGM) president Eugen Loderer called dropping arms export restrictions "economically and socially a step in the wrong direction, because it gets us into a dependence hard to break later on"; he added that IGM had a whole list of much better proposals for securing jobs.

A modest proposal.

The SPD, the Socialist International and the Brandt Commission Report all call for cutbacks in arms expenditures in favor of Third World development. In late January, SPD Bundestag (parliament) member Rudolf Schofberger offered his party colleagues a modest proposal that would put these fine principles into practice. Why not shave a billion marks (roughly half a billion dollars) off the arms procurement budget and add it to the foreign aid budget? This would still leave 1981 military appropriations at a record 40 billion marks, 2.97 percent higher than last year. But it would increase the scrawny foreign aid budget by almost a fourth. Schofberger suggested allocating the billion marks to combat hunger, disease and illiteracy in the world's ten poorest countries. Within a couple of days, 24 of the SPD's 218 Bundestag fraction members had lined up in support of the proposal.

While Christian Democrats chortled over the imminent collapse of the ruling coalition, foreign minister Genscher let it be known that any reduction in the military budget would be "a serious affront to the new American administration." SPD Bundestag fraction leader Herbert Wehner quickly moved to contain this embarrassing outburst of unstatesmanlike devotion to principle in his party.

Foreign aid minister Rainer Offergeld, who had previously pled in vain for more funds, didn't seem to hear the billion-dollar proposal. Instead, he gave an interview saying how "happy" he would be to see the U.S. back to "playing its leadership role."

An SPD Bundestag fraction meeting Jan. 27 turned down the proposal, which got 37 votes. The SPD-FDP coalition's majority is too narrow to be able to afford 37 defections. To assure support for military appropriations, fraction leaders agreed to a motion recalling that "worldwide increase in development aid and corresponding cuts in arms expenditures are basic, unanimous social democratic goals" and passed the foreign aid increase proposal (but not the arms spending cut) along to discussion groups.

That same day, the February issue of the leftist monthly *Konkret* appeared with an article by SPD Bundestag member Karl Heinz Hansen that would have attracted little attention had not Wehner

and other SPD leaders pounced on it to create a scandalous uproar that shook up—at least momentarily—the ranks of the anti-weapons minority.

The 53-year-old Hansen is not one to beat around the bush. In his article, he called for a "stop to the stupid 3 percent increase in the defense budget" and called instead for a "reduction of the 1981 arms budget by a billion marks in favor of emergency aid to the 30 poorest countries, for instance Uganda." He also called for an all-European disarmament conference to take concrete steps toward creation of a nuclear-free zone in Europe.

Hansen complained that "behind the SPD's back, the security council headed by Helmut Schmidt agreed to a submarine deal with Chile's 'gang of murderers.'" The decision not only lacks the minimum of political morality that used to distinguish Social Democrats from Christian Democrats. The argument that such a deal is needed to maintain jobs in the

The arms sales to Chile and Saudi Arabia signal an end to the "moral embargo."

shipyards is worse than pragmatic cynicism. It is a sheer mockery of years of repeated attempts by the SPD base and leadership to obtain structural measures to assure employment..."

Hansen argued that arms expenditures hurt investment in civilian industry where employment is more steady and secure. "Because every mark spent in the world—more and more by less developed countries—for weapons is a mark less to buy more worthwhile investment goods." Arms expenditure is "ruinous, because it turns valuable raw materials into leftover scrap, instead of creating economically productive and useful goods." It also "widens the discrepancy between North and South," increases dependence on arms export and thereby "reduces foreign policy leeway."

"Despite these facts, the government in past years has shown no sign of willingness to try out any of the many party resolutions on structural diversification" that would transfer military productive capacity to civilian use, Hansen charged. After the Saudi Arabian tank deal, Germans can throw themselves into "sporting competition with the French in unrestrained arms export. We'll no longer be partly to blame for those who die of hun-

ger in the Sahel, but also directly responsible for those killed with German weapons." Finally, Hansen warned that the SPD risked completely losing the younger generation by such unprincipled politics.

The powers of decorum.

The 24 crusaders against the arms race were riding high, but Wehner within hours used this article to bring them low. He and SPD chairman Willy Brandt issued a statement accusing Hansen and his article of "deliberately and systematically weakening" the SPD and called an emergency meeting of the SPD fraction for that very evening to censure Hansen and threaten him with expulsion. The notice was too short to round up many more than half the fraction, but never mind, Hansen was duly censured 115-to-one (Hansen himself) with 11 abstentions. Taken by surprise, the SPD left split, and the 24 opponents of the arms race called off a press conference they had scheduled for the next day.

The SPD leadership attack did not, heaven forbid, concentrate on the issues raised by Hansen, but rather on the unseemly manner in which they were expressed.

"How long will the Social Democratic Party look on helplessly as its vice chairman, alias Chancellor Schmidt, continually acts against common sense and the platform of his party?" the article began. "Has the fixation on parliamentary majorities and mere staying in power proved to be so catching that the Party is ready to pay the price of social ineffectualness? Have the Chancellor's announcements in a tone recalling Strauss' party, of the 'end of good deeds' and the start of a necessarily 'cruel, tough' social policy already turned into plain political swinishness?"

In Germany, decorum is the secret weapon of the powers that be. Threatened with lost respectability, Hansen's colleagues among the 24 backed away from his "swinishness."

Even so, Hansen popped back the next day at a press conference with two colleagues who hadn't made it to the fraction meeting and who protested at apparent efforts to silence opposition. As some SPD leaders took steps to follow up censure with expulsion, Hansen received hundreds of telegrams of support from religious and civic leaders.

In an interview with the weekly *Der Spiegel*, SPD presidium member Erhard Eppler said that whatever happened to Hansen (whose style he disapproved), the issue would not go away. The Reagan administration's effort to push Germany into a policy of military superiority over the USSR is bound to produce a "new neutralism," he warned. "I see the ecology movement turning into a peace movement," he said.

The neutron bomb "could break NATO," Eppler warned. "Europe must make clear to the U.S. it will not play along with a strategy of being armed to death."

"Either we are alliance partners, or else we are satellites," said Eppler. "It's almost an insult to the American nation to act as if the Americans would not live up to their commitments—as in Berlin—if ever the Germans didn't do exactly what they were told. The Soviets must be made to know that their military adventures can only push Western Europe even closer to the U.S. Reagan must be made to know that there could be an American policy that would no longer meet with our encouragement but with a plain 'no.' This is also of importance to the American opposition to Reagan."

The row over military spending is only one of the SPD's recent internal troubles. There have been problems of replacing the Berlin mayor—Schmidt's heir apparent, former Bonn Justice Minister Hans Jochem Vogel, was dispatched to do the job—and over the Hamburg SPD's decision to pull the municipality out of the consortium building the much-disputed Brokdorf nuclear power plant in neighboring Schleswig-Holstein. The turmoil tolerance level is relatively low in German politics, and talk is increasing of the SPD's "unfitness to govern." Rumors are afloat that Schmidt has heart trouble and will soon retire. So far only the inner circle knows whether this is true or part of some ploy. ■

GREAT BRITAIN

Labour's splinter is not a split

By Mervyn Jones

LONDON

AS THE BRITISH LABOUR PARTY struggles with its gravest crisis since 1931 all but the most bone-headed are—with good cause—extremely anxious. Yet the dominant feeling, though you couldn't guess it from most press reporting, is that "things might be a lot worse."

To see why, one must go back to events in the fall of 1980 when the party's annual conference ratified by the narrowest of margins a constitutional change key to the reform program of Anthony Wedgwood Benn and his allies. It decided that the party leader should, in future, be elected on a "wider franchise" representing the local members, the trade unions and other elements in what's broadly called the labour movement—not only by Labour members of Parliament. The change didn't take effect immediately because details of the new voting system were left to a further special conference set for January 24, 1981.

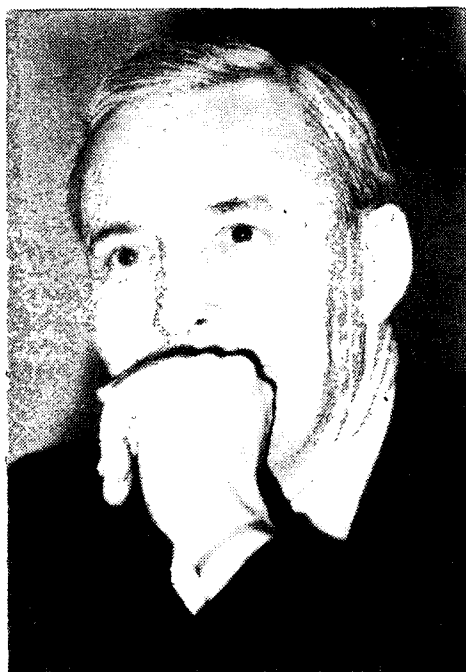
The arguments for and against this change are not only passionately urged, but also serious. Opponents argue that Britain is governed by the parliamentary system, and that the British people won't back a party they suspect of wishing to bypass or downgrade it. The system can only work if the party leader—

time, under the old rules—by MPs alone. Most Labour MPs, if classified by their stance on major issues such as the limits of public ownership, a NATO-based foreign policy and the retention of nuclear weapons, are right-wingers.

Denis Healey, defense minister in one Labour administration and chancellor of the exchequer in the next, and consistently right-wing since he entered politics in 1950, emerged as the front-running candidate. A strong upholder of the rights and privileges of MPs, he let it be known that if elected he would stay as leader "as long as my fellow-MPs want me."

His rival was Michael Foot, whose consistently left-wing record includes being deprived of the party whip in the '60s for campaigning against nuclear weapons. At first reluctant to run because of his age, the 67-year-old Foot was drafted by pressure from his friends (and jocular threats of divorce from his wife) as the only man who could beat Healey. On the constitutional issue, Foot stated that he would accept the conference decision and submit to re-election under the new rules—though he had his own views on the details of the franchise.

All seemed set for a nightmarish scenario as follows: Healey would win the vote at the fall conference. The January conference would adopt new rules, call an election under them, and open the way to a grass-roots favorite, probably Benn. Healey, backed by MPs, would refuse to retire. With two men



Tony Benn

had not been enough time since becoming leader to explain the merits of his plan.

The battle is not yet over. Healey, now deputy leader, is urging that the decision be reversed. Foot has said that it will be perfectly in order to re-open the issue when the regular annual conference convenes next October, and it's presumed that he will again favor the 50-25-25 formula. Unless, of course, Foot's health gives way—a possibility against which even atheists are praying—no new leader will be needed for some years.

Exile on Narrow Street.

But on January 25, while Foot was relaxing with fellow leftists, a meeting was being held at the home of Dr. David Owen on (suitably named, perhaps) Narrow Street, a chic enclave in what used to be London's dockland. The participants were Owen himself, foreign secretary in Callaghan's team; Shirley Williams, formerly minister of education; William Rodgers, formerly minister of transport; and Roy Jenkins, who was a senior figure in the 1964 to 1970 Labour government and then the party's deputy leader, before departing for a stint as president of the European Economic Community's Commission.

These people, inevitably labelled in the press as the Gang of Four, had for several weeks been saying that they were finding it difficult to stay in a Labour Party that—as they see it—has drastically changed its character and outlook. They don't accept any formula, including the Foot plan, that gives the unions a voice in the election of the leader. Owen, at the Jan. 24 conference, had urged a straight vote of individual party members, somewhat on the lines of an American primary; but he got little support.

There's a degree of irony—even hypocrisy, some critics would say—in the stance of these right-wingers. On policy issues, Labour's right wing relied for many years on the votes of the unions, with no complaint from Jenkins, Williams or Rodgers. (Owen, it's fair to say, was too young to be in the game at that time.) Now that some big unions are under left-wing control, they discern the faults of the system.

Still, these faults are in fact rather glaring. Each union casts its vote as a monolithic bloc, according to the number of its members who theoretically pay a small sum of money to be affiliated members of the party. And "theoretically" is the word, since the bloc vote actually represents the union's financial contribution to party funds—for example, a union can cast 500,000 votes when it has only 400,000 members. In defense of this arrangement it's argued that the unions created the party back in 1900 (a historical simplification) and that this umbilical tie to the working class is what gives British Labour its strength. But

similar parties in Germany and Scandinavia manage without it and frequently win national elections.

Emerging into Narrow Street, the Four announced the creation of a Council for Social Democracy. This is generally regarded as the forerunner of a new party. Announcement of the party itself is daily imminent but, like Prince Charles' engagement to Lady Diana Spencer, somehow hasn't happened yet. Shirley Williams says that she's still hoping for "a miracle," as she puts it, with Labour MPs staging a counterrevolution. Most observers ascribe the delay to negotiations for an alliance with the Liberal Party—not too easy to fix up, since some Liberals are hotly opposed to sharing their political pie with the newcomers.

A lame response.

So far, the CSD hasn't exactly been a smash hit. It has been joined by only nine Labour MPs in addition to Owen and Rodgers. (Jenkins resigned his seat to go to Brussels, and Williams lost hers in the 1979 election.) Considering that about 140 MPs could be described as right-wingers, this is a poor haul. Healey and other influential figures have been exerting all their efforts to cut down the defections, with remarkable success. It's also notable that not one of the 11 CSDers has the backing of party members in his constituency—one, indeed, has already received an almost unanimous demand for his resignation from Parliament.

On Feb. 5 the CSD put out a press advertisement claiming 8,000 messages of support. Again, not very many. It listed the names of 100 backers, and the list was astonishingly unimpressive—some aging ex-MPs now retired from active politics, a scattering of professors and other intellectuals, none of them truly

Of the 140 Labour MPs that can be described as right wing only 11 have defected so far—a poor haul.

distinguished, one pop musician, one actress. Grassroots activists in the Labour Party were few—just a branch chairman here, a district councillor there.

But it is disturbing that opinion polls report support for a Social-Democratic-Liberal alliance among 30 to 40 percent of the voters. This needs to be strongly caveated, as Haig would say. No such alliance yet exists. The media have been unrestrained in their plugging of the new grouping. People often give strange answers when asked how they'd vote years before an election is due (in this case, 1983 or 1984) and such intentions melt away when the time comes. Yet these findings can't be entirely dismissed, if only as an expression of discontent with the existing political matrix.

With unemployment at 10 percent and rising fast, the welfare state in ruins and even businessmen agast at the results of Mrs. Thatcher's policies, a Labour victory at the next election might seem to be a safe bet. But we must set against this the long-term erosion of the "loyal" Labour vote. In 1966, 48 percent of those who cast a ballot voted Labour. In October 1974 it was down to 38 percent though Labour won the election. In 1979, it was 33 percent.

If a Social-Democratic Party were to snatch even a slice of the Labour vote, and if the vagaries of the first-past-the-post system were to produce a large number of minority victories, Labour might be robbed of success and Thatcher assured of a further spell in Downing Street. The beneficiary of the events we're now witnessing may well be neither Michael Foot nor David Owen, but the quietly smiling Tory Prime Minister. ■ *Mervyn Jones, who has written regularly for both the New Statesman and Tribune, was formerly London correspondent for In These Times.*



Michael Foot failed to strike a compromise on the new franchise.

and so the prime minister after an election victory—has the confidence of a majority of MPs on his side of the House of Commons. The wider franchise might produce a leader of whom that could not be said—such as, to be frank, the much-loved but also much-hated Benn.

On the other hand, putting the choice of leader in the hands of the local units and the affiliated unions is a visible advance in democracy. It's also logical, since they already decide party policy by votes at party conferences. And, even if we leave aside the U.S., where the institution of the presidency makes a vital difference, several nations with a parliamentary system and a prime minister—Canada, Italy, West Germany—have party leaders chosen at conventions or conferences.

One nightmare averted.

The constitutional change was followed quickly by the resignation as party leader of the bumbling and ineffective James Callaghan, who had assured all and sundry that his influence would ensure the defeat of the reform move. A new leader had to be elected, for the last

laying claim to the leadership, the party would split wide open.

Worried MPs in the center of the party spectrum saw the danger and helped elect Foot by a margin of 10 among the 262 MPs who voted. And that's why people are saying that things could be worse.

With the January special conference not far away, Foot put his weight behind a compromise formula. The votes of MPs would have a 50 percent weight in what was called, borrowing the American term, an electoral college. The local party units would count for 25 percent and the unions for 25 percent. That way, a clear element of democracy would be introduced, while MPs would have reasonable protection from being saddled with a leader they couldn't follow.

But when January 24 came, this proposal did not carry the day. The conference voted for a formula giving 40 percent weight to the unions, 30 percent to the local units, and 30 percent to MPs. Foot, his serious face splashed across the front pages, was described as dejected and dismayed. In fact, as he told me in a chat the following day, he hadn't expected to win—there simply

THE MANY-FACETED

By Sarah Cardin

STONE

For nearly two decades I.F. Stone wrote and published *I.F. Stone's Weekly* (later *Bi-Weekly*). Over the years he had worked for many other publications, including *The Nation* and the liberal New York newspapers *P.M.* and the *Daily Compass*.

When the *Compass* folded at the end of 1952 Stone decided to put out his own paper. (Stone attributes the decision to the fact that *The Nation* was unable to give him back his old job.) He put out the first issue of his weekly in January 1953. From the beginning, the weekly was different. It was a one-man operation: All the research, reporting, writing and proofreading was done by Stone. And it was unabashedly on the left. Stone was one of the first to warn against American involvement in Vietnam, and he consistently agitated against the increasing pace and danger of the arms race.

Stone's weekly attained a circulation of more than 70,000 when he stopped putting it out in the early '70s. Since then, although his health has forced him to slow down a bit, Stone has remained active. He's been a contributing editor of the *New York Review of Books*, and is currently studying Greek political philosophy at Washington University.

In early February, Stone was a Regents' Lecturer at the Santa Cruz campus of the University of California. While there he talked with a small group of journalists, including *In These Times*' Sarah Cardin.

Since Reagan has taken office, some people are likening the period we're heading into to the McCarthy era. Do you see similarities between the coming years and the times you went through and wrote about in the early and mid-'50s?

Well, the new times have just begun. There's a danger from right-wing groups behind Reagan that are talking about resuming the kind of "investigations" the Un-American Activities Committee and the Senate Internal Security Committee conducted. The Senate Judiciary Committee has already voted to abolish its Constitutional Rights Committee, which did such wonderful work in defense of civil liberties under Sen. Sam Ervin of North Carolina.

They're abolishing that committee and reviving the Internal Security Committee, which in the old days was a subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

They talk about getting government off our backs—one of the stupidest phrases I've ever heard, with very stupid implications—but they themselves, with regard to women's rights and things like abortion, civil liberties and constitutional liberties, are going to try to get the government back on our backs. Strengthen the FBI and CIA, revive the inquisition into peoples' political ideas and thoughts like we had in the '50s. Those things are possible again. But how they'll develop, or whether they'll develop, remains to be seen.

What do you think of the Moral Majority?

The Moral Majority is a moral minority. A lot of people are frightened by change, and this has been a great era of change. With the change has come evil as well as good; it's impossible to separate the two. They see the drug culture and

permissiveness and the tidal wave of pornography. There are a lot of good, church-going people who are really dismayed by a lot of that, and they're dismayed by the complexities of modern life.

You have a revival of fundamentalism all over the world. You can see it in Islam, in the Ayatollah. You can see it in Israel, in the Gush Emunim. You can see it in our own country in the South, with the evangelicals and the Moral Majority. Everywhere there's a tendency to go back to the security of religious dogma, to the womb of a faith that answers all questions without your having to think. Everything that humanity has won since the Renaissance and the Reformation and the Enlightenment is really in danger because this movement back to literal, fundamentalist religion foment human ethnic bigotry and inter-human struggle.

Just the other day, there was a story about one of the editors of an evangelical right-wing paper in the South refusing to come to a Bible conference with Phyllis Schlafly because she's a Roman Catholic.

It's not a joke. Such feelings are a menace to the security of this country, a far greater menace than all these foreign nightmares. We have a country in which Protestant sects of all kinds, and Catholics and Jews and non-believers, live together. This is what was intended by the separation of church and state. And everywhere this fundamentalism encourages people to hate other people and to persecute them and to outlaw them because they don't believe in exactly the same things.

The world has tried to get rid of that, and it's in danger of being engulfed by it again. Pick up the radio on a Sunday morning and hear some

of these evangelicals. I don't know what Bible they read. They tell us the Panama Canal Treaty was contrary to the Gospel. I can't find anything in the Gospel on the Panama Canal Treaty. They're for war and for more military expenditures. I can't find anything in the Gospel to support that.

I don't know what they read. Jesus was either a pacifist or you don't recognize him at all. You have Jeane Kirkpatrick, who Reagan has appointed to be the U.S. representative to the United Nations, and you have these wonderful nuns who are raped and murdered in El Salvador because they tried to help the common people. And you have Kirkpatrick saying, "Well, after all, they were activists," implying that if they were activists they had to take their chances, and if they got killed it was their hard luck. Well, read the Gospel; Jesus was an activist. That's how he got in trouble. He was an activist and so were his disciples. Jeane Kirkpatrick would have been a great help to Pontius Pilate at the trial.

They're a real menace, but I don't think they're going to win. American Protestantism has had, has always had, a strong component of social Gospel. Right since the beginning, there has been an effort to translate Gospel into terms of social needs and social justice. The American Protestant sects have played a great and honorable role in the cause of social reform in our country generation after generation, and there's great opposition in the Protestant churches and in the Catholic church to literal fundamentalism.

Some people have suggested that groups like the Ku Klux Klan and the American Nazi Party can be fought by limiting their rights to freedom of speech.

It's very dangerous to start putting ifs and buts on the First Amendment. Political freedom is not the same as a right to encourage or engage in criminal activities. And so long as a party is engaged in the propagation of

political ideas, no matter how much we may dislike them, they have a right to do so.

You know, the Un-American Activities Committee began not as a weapon against the left, but against the American Nazis. For two years it confined itself to exposing Nazi activities. And then pretty soon it was turned around and utilized against the left, utilized against the New Deal, against the Roosevelt administration, and we had a terrible miasma that continued from 1935 until after the so-called McCarthy period. The McCarthy period really began long before McCarthy.

The idea of freedom and of freedom of the press is to meet issues in free debate. That means to assume that so-called ordinary people have sufficient intelligence to be persuaded gradually to sift out the truth, and that the path of suppression, of making martyrs, was just to give a lot of bastards the halo of martyrdom. I'm very wary of legislation against movements and parties I deeply dislike.

What do you think is the state of press freedom in the U.S.?

There's not enough freedom of the press. It's not by a long shot as bad as the Soviet Union, but we still have a discernible line. The realm of discourse within the great popular newspapers is limited. It's limited on the right and on the left, but much more limited on the left. Anything that smacks of socialism or government ownership or public planning or social planning gets short shrift. Those who espouse alternative proposals of government are relegated, not to writing for the drawer and not the samizdat, but to peripheral publications like *The Nation* or *The Progressive* or even smaller papers.

We're the only major industrial country with no popular movement for socialism. The realm of discourse is very much center and center-right and it has a very bad influence on policy. We pride ourselves, we Americans, on being pragmatic. And we are and have been pragmatic in many ways. But this secular religion about free enterprise puts blinkers on our eyes and minds.

We need a much wider discussion. But publications that advance left ideas can't get advertising, can't get capital, and without capital you can't grow. It's very difficult. I'm glad we have these publications. But looking at it objectively, our freedom of the press is by no means as great as we'd like to make it appear in our national rhetoric.

Governments in the third world have long been complaining that they can't control the news agencies that report on their part of the world. They feel that coverage often leaves much to be desired, from their point of view.

Third world countries need a free press even more than we do, because most of them are run by the goddamnedest bunch of dictators and bastards I've seen, who in many cases exploit their own people worse than the imperialists did. And in other cases, when they're good men, the absence of a free press means they don't know what's happening in their own country. How do you know what people are thinking unless you listen to them? How can you hear their voices

unless they can speak?

It's nonsense to talk about the third world as if it were something completely different. Or the socialist countries. These countries suffer from the lack of a free press. The papers that exist in those countries completely lack credibility. Even when they print the truth—and you sometimes print the truth in any kind of paper—it's not believed. I've only been to Russia once, but I sensed this. One of the detriments of lack of a free press is that people automatically disbelieve everything. Well, disbelieving everything is as bad as believing everything.

People like Rosa Luxemburg ought to be read again. She was a communist and a revolutionary, killed by the German reactionaries in 1919. She very early saw that the absence of free elections and a free press in Soviet Russia was going to have a deadening effect on politics and on the rights of the working class. Calling something the "dictatorship of the proletariat" doesn't mean workers are in control. If workers can't organize free unions, if they can't speak, if they can't print a pamphlet, if they can't expose the fact that a foreman is a crook who's been stealing stuff out of the factory, what is it except a mask for the dictatorship of the bureaucracy? In Poland all the

workers want freedom of the press. That's also what the underground writers are saying in the Soviet Union.

It may very well be that the outside papers are unfair to some of these countries and their problems, but the answer is not to destroy freedom of the press. It's to have more freedom of the press, inside and outside.

What do you think about the Reagan administration's military spending proposals?

I've got this nonsense about an expenditure gap. This expenditure gap is figured in a cockeyed way. If we figured out Chinese expenditures the way we figured out the Russians', we would decide the Chinese were outspending the whole world. If you take the Chinese army, and figure what it would cost to finance that big an army here, with that level of food, pay, cars and everything else our army has, it would be phenomenal! They'd look like the biggest spenders on the planet. Well, they have these men because they pay them very little. They're very under-equipped and they have very backwards weapons.

Last August a CIA man named Arthur Cox had an article in the *Washington Post*, developed in a bigger scale later in the *New York Review of Books*. He pointed out that the original CIA estimates explained

that this computation of an expenditure gap was based on the idea that the Russians paid their farm boys as much as we have to pay people in the armed services. The whole thing was translated into American terms: what this army and all this equipment would cost us. Then, of course, it would look like they were spending more than we do, when it is really the opposite. They spend a lot of money by our standards to buy a very inferior army and, from our point of view, a very technologically backward armed force.

But the press seized on the figures based on these assumptions and ballyhooed it. It was reported in columns and in Congress and nobody went back to read the original CIA report to see what the basis for the computation was. So we have this enormous nonsense about how we were being outspent and how we were in danger of becoming a second-rate power. It's just a lot of damn nonsense, and it certainly hasn't been adequately discussed in the press.

Do you think there's any gap between American and Soviet military capacity?

here are some gaps. One side's ahead on some things, the other side ahead on the other.

Photograph: LOIS NELSON



But the two powers don't have the same needs. It's silly to try to analyze the figures without looking at the geographical and strategic position of the two powers. If you go to the military journals or the naval academy proceedings, you'll find very thoughtful analyses by the military for their own use, very different from the stuff in the popular press. Russia is a great land power. She has enemies on both sides. She has the Chinese as a potential enemy on the east; she has rebellious satellites that chafe under her heel in Eastern Europe. She needs one hell of a lot of tanks, for example. What do we need tanks for? We've got the Atlantic and the Pacific. You can't very well drive a tank across.

The Russians have been behind us on everything from between five and 10 years. To keep up, they've had to buy a lot more of inferior weapons. It affects them worse than it does us because the major part of their strategic force is in land-based missiles, whereas in our case we have far more bombers and we're way ahead of them in submarine launchers of nuclear weapons.

This is why there are gaps. It would be silly for each side to try to buy exactly the same things as the other. It would be military idiocy.

Few people would question that big corporations wield immense power in the U.S., especially politically. Do you think that this power of the corporations can be broken?

o, the corporate form of business is a useful social device.

The problem is not to try to get rid of the corporations, because you can't do it, but to limit them. You see, the corporation is a fictitious person. The state, by law, creates it. The state does not create the individual, and the individual has rights that the state cannot infringe upon. That's basic in a free society. But a corporation is created by the state. It does not have the same rights as an ordinary person. For example, Congress cannot pass a law affecting the election activities of a citizen, but it can pass a law affecting the election campaigning of a corporation, because otherwise these enormous aggregations of wealth would have tremendous political power, far beyond the votes of the men who control them.

So the problem is to cut down corporate intrusion into politics. It's not a problem of demonology, it's a problem in constructive jurisprudence and legal analysis.

Would you think that nationalizing certain industries would help?

ou could nationalize industries. We talk about a free market in our country. Well, there is a free market but many areas of the economy are so dominated by large corporations that they don't have to obey the laws of the free market, the laws of supply and demand. They fix prices and output and create artificial scarcity for profit.

When President Roosevelt wrote the monopoly message in 1937, he used a vivid phrase. Roosevelt said this was not capitalism or free enterprise. It was private socialism. These corporations were operating like a little socialist state, doing their own planning—but planning not for the public good but for the private good. In such cases, it may be good public policy to take over these areas and make them public corporations. Other capitalist countries have done this. Unfortunately, they don't usually make corporations publicly owned until they are so far in debt and in so much financial trouble that the government has to take them over to bail out the stockholders. If the big three auto companies go on the way they have been the last year, they'll either go bankrupt or be begging the government to take them over to bail out the stockholders. ■

Sarah Cardin is a writer who works with community radio station KZSC in Santa Cruz, Calif.

LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

FISHY

I FIND PAUL BOOTH'S (AFSCME) ASSERTION that mental hospitals can be made decent (*ITT*, Jan. 28) an extremely parochial defense. I can recognize the need for unions to defend their turf these days, but not in the face of bankrupt and dehumanizing dinosaurs like mental institutions. There are so many legitimate social needs that should be addressed by municipal workers that devoting time towards staying in the dark ages of human dignity is a real red herring.

—Marvin Lew
Lexington, Mass.

ASTONISHED

I AM ASTONISHED AT THE EFFORT (ineffective and incoherent as it was) by Fred Halliday (*ITT*, Jan. 28) to justify the kidnapping and torture of Americans by Iranians. I am doubly astonished at your publication of such garbage. He seems to be saying that because Iranians torture and kill other Iranians, it is all right for them to do it to Americans, and that because some Americans are in effect outlaws, internationally speaking, it is open season on all Americans abroad. I am not sure whom to feel more sorry for, Fred Halliday or the victims.

—Frederick S. Gram
St. Paul, Minn.

Editor's note: Fred Halliday did not attempt to justify the taking of American hostages by Iranians. He did attempt to explain what led the Iranians to take them. To prevent something from happening again it is necessary to understand why it happened in the first instance.

ILL-TEMPERED

DAVID NOBLE'S LENGTHY AND ILL-tempered letter (*ITT*, Feb. 4) prompts me to reply briefly.

Having lived in Europe after the war, I can assure Noble that there was no "counter-revolution...orchestrated in large part by the Marshall Plan." On

the contrary, the people of Western Europe, in elections with wider participation than our own, freely elected their own governments, including social democratic governments. If Noble has another definition of democracy, perhaps he will tell us what it is.

I particularly object to his uncalled-for smear of individuals. William Matson Roth, for example, is a left-liberal Democrat, who has supported liberal causes generously both with his time and with his money.

—David C. Williams
Washington, D.C.

CHOMSKY RESPONDS

JOEL ROSENBLIT'S LETTER (*ITT*, FEB. 11) makes a series of charges based on my alleged "refusal to recognize that Jewish people have a parallel need to the Palestinian people" and attack on "Israel's right to exist." He is, to put it mildly, in error. I have consistently maintained that Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs have a comparable claim to national rights and that Israel's right to exist is comparable to that of other states; specifically, that since 1973, the best of a set of bad options is a two-state settlement. Incidentally, Palestinians have never failed to understand this; see, e.g., my discussion with Fuad Faris in *Socialist Revolution*, April 1976.

Rosenblit is also enraged that I "defend a liar about the Holocaust." The facts to which he alludes are these: Under circumstances that I have described in *The Nation*, a comment of mine on the purely civil libertarian aspects of the "Faurisson affair" was added as an "opinion" ("avis") to a book in which Faurisson defends himself against charges brought against him—he is being brought to court for falsification of history after having been suspended from teaching French literature under threat of violence.

If Rosenblit finds this "contemptible," he should have stronger words for far more controversial stands that I have taken in support of freedom of expression. For example, at the height

of the Vietnam war, I took the stand that authentic war criminals should not be denied the right to teach on the grounds of their advocacy of aggression and massacre or their direct participation in it. No one accuses Faurisson of anything comparable; in fact, though it is strictly irrelevant to the civil libertarian issue, he writes of the "heroic insurrection of the Warsaw Ghetto," praises those who fought the Nazis in "the right cause," etc.

In my view, it is important to take a strong stand in support of freedom of expression, including academic freedom, and to do so particularly in the hard cases: where the views expressed are universally reviled (and are, in this case, diametrically opposed to my own, as repeatedly expressed in print). This is not a matter of right or left. It is, rather, a matter of defending the legacy of the enlightenment.

—Noam Chomsky
Cambridge, Mass.

GETTING READY

ENCLOSED IS MY CHECK FOR A SIX-month subscription to *ITT*. The renewed political acuity of *ITT* prompts me to subscribe once again (after a two-year respite).

In particular, I want to congratulate you for two thoughtful essays by John Judis: "Reconstituting Power in America" (*ITT*, Dec. 17, 1980) and "The Seamy Side of a Service Economy" (*ITT*, Feb. 4). I have often felt that the "left's" failure to join the overriding issues of the day at the national level, either intellectually or politically, has seriously weakened the credibility of local initiatives. As any self-respecting socialist party knows, it is necessary to have an affirmative constitutional perspective, even if it would be politically foolhardy to seek a plebiscite on that perspective today. Likewise, without an understanding of the economy as it is, rather than as the neo-industrialists suppose, it is impossible to develop an economic program consistent with one's constitutional outlook.

ITT can continue to play a fruitful role in addressing these issues not only by drawing its readers' attention to the best scholarship, but also by setting aside one issue a quarter for invited essays that, from different perspectives, attempt to put some flesh on the (as yet) skeletal program around which socialists might organize. The thrust of such special issues should be programmatic, since governing a nation is something we, like others in my part of town, are unaccustomed to.

—Greg Staple
Washington, D.C.

CONTACT

HERE'S A BACKHANDED COMPLIMENT. I realize that *ITT*'s resources are meager, and I've come to regard it as a left *Time* rather than a substitute for the coverage a socialist daily might provide. For that reason, I particularly want to commend Robert Howard's "Microshock in the Information Society" (*ITT*, Jan. 21). Howard's article—lucid, factual, well-organized—contextualized current CWA bargaining issues as harbingers of a new stage in the development of capitalism. Beyond that, it provided an unsettling, depressing glimpse inside the electronic sweatshop of the Bell System: the latest manifestation of "labor-saving" investment that seeks to impose uniformity onto normal fluctuations in the intensity of human effort.

Howard's analysis brought to mind not only the extermination of craft skills by mass production, but also the fate of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers. According to the scholarship I've consulted, the puddlers and rollers comprising its membership manipulated early industrial technology to enhance their own indispensability. Their position was undermined by introduction of new processes for making and shaping steel, and their leadership was unable to formulate an effective response to the implementation of engineering innovations in the mills. Opposed by the pow-

er of concentrated capital, as well as state violence at Homestead (1892), a union that once exercised substantial control withered away.

But enough rummaging in the dustbin of history. Now I know what's actually going on when I "reach out and touch someone." More articles like Howard's per issue, please.

—T.E. Leary
Pawtucket, R.I.

DON'T KNOCK IT

THE IGNORANCE OF PROGRESSIVISM displayed by the mainstream media comes as no surprise—it's their job. But the myopia evident in your response to Don Schoolman (*ITT*, Jan. 28) is more serious. Your focus upon the Citizens Party's national candidates' vote totals is misplaced. Our 1980 presidential effort (as Barry Commoner himself said just last month here in Atlanta) was primarily a vehicle for the development of a network of locally organized and largely self-sufficient and self-activating chapters. This grassroots organizing did not succeed in every state, and admittedly there was some regression in the course of the campaign; nonetheless, if one can momentarily rise above the adolescent needs of the mainstream media for immediate gratification, then 1980 can be viewed as reasonably rewarding on the local organizing plane. And it is this activity at the grassroots of which *ITT* is losing sight. No one in the Citizens Party can quibble with the coverage given our presidential campaign ("more coverage than any other publication in the country"); we are deeply grateful; yet *ITT* has been missing some rather important stories: in Vermont and Missouri, for instance, the local chapters ran candidates for state offices and for the U.S. House (from Vermont), with results in the 10-20 percent range. James Ford, running in a by-election in Virginia this past January, was able to pressure the Democrat into shifting dramatically leftwards during the campaign.

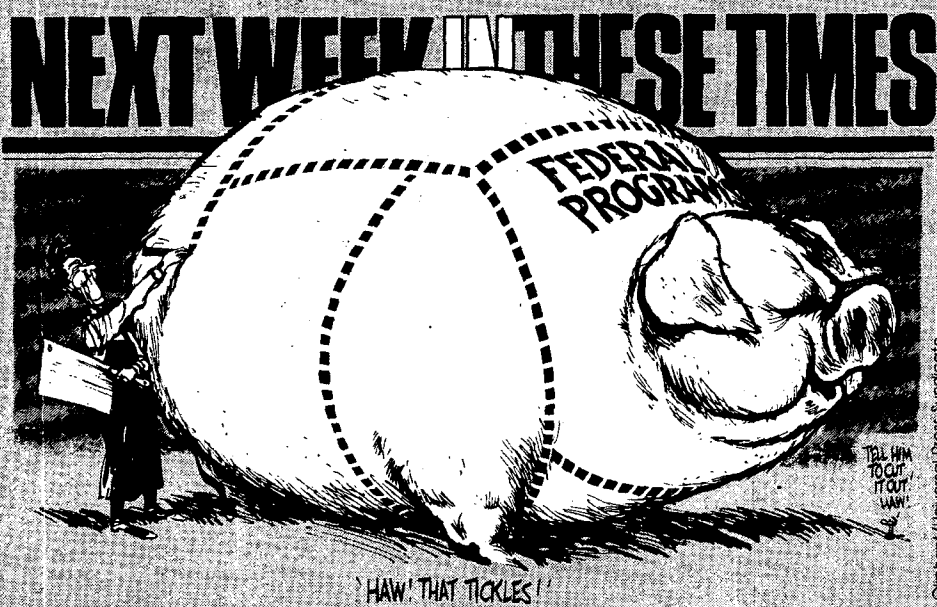
Small potatoes, you may be saying. Yet this slow work of local party building and local electoral activity is crucial, both for the development of a left party and for reversing the course of reaction during the coming four years. Across the country, this year and next, local Citizens Party chapters will be running a small but not insignificant number of candidates for carefully targeted local (and occasionally state) offices. Some of these will be "punishment candidates"—denying office to Democrats who've abandoned liberalism. But most will be running to win: Burlington and NYC, for instance, may soon be able to say, as does Atlanta, that they have Citizens Partisans on their city councils. Nothing succeeds like success. As these local successes begin to mount, "newsworthiness" follows, and it is from that position that the Citizens Party can use the existing political system to expand our base.

Finally, a word about *ITT*'s responsibilities. Horizontal networking within the Citizens Party, while showing considerable revitalization in the last few months (the holding of regional caucuses, the emergence of a quarterly magazine for the party [published here in Georgia] the widening exchange of local newsletters, etc.), is still rather fragile. Hence, the description of the party as "very small handfuls of politically inexperienced groups" could be highly discouraging to one of the relatively isolated, smaller chapters. If it were true, then fair enough. But it is not. Your observation is not based upon any real reportage.

—Jim Coonan
Atlanta, Ga.

CORRECTION

The address given for *El Salvador: Another Vietnam* was incorrect. Inquiries regarding the film should be directed to Catalyst Media, P.O. Box 640, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013, (212) 226-7034 or 226-7028.



The Kindest Cuts of All

John Judis finds other ways to lop \$41 billion off the federal budget without victimizing workers and the poor.

Safety Begins at Work

You hear a lot about silly regs and bloated bureaucracy in the debate over OSHA—and almost nothing about shopfloor programs that have made real progress toward safer working conditions. Robert Howard begins a three-part series.

PERSPECTIVES

The struggle against international terrorism begins at home

By Saul Landau

IN READING THE DAILY NEWSPAPERS and watching the TV news I wonder whether I am crazy or some magic erasure of memory has taken place. International terrorism, Secretary of State Haig announced in outlining U.S. priorities, will replace human rights. On Jan. 29 *Washington Post* columnist Stephan Rosenfeld declared that the root of international terrorism lies "not only in individual pathologies and local conditions but in international organizations and political connections." But whose organizations and whose connections? If we look back we find that during the '60s and '70s the U.S. actively promoted terrorism to fulfill our "national security objectives."

From 1959 on, the CIA, under orders from the White House, recruited Cuban exiles and trained them not only for combat, but in all the gory crafts of terrorism. Our government launched them in an invasion of another sovereign state, it sent them on assassination missions, sabotage expeditions and terrorist activity of infinite varieties. Then, when policy shifted, many of these same terrorists that we spawned were placed by their former mentors in intelligence agencies throughout the hemisphere. Some of them returned to their former professions as international drug dealers, arms traders, prostitution runners, etc. Others took free-lance contracts from foreign states, such as Chile and Somoza's Nicaragua.

Is it too far back to recall that in 1976 five Cuban exiles took the contract of the Chilean government to assassinate former Chilean Minister Orlando Letelier in Washington during which they also killed Ronni Moffitt, an American woman?

Each year the city of Miami and its county, Dade, far outdoes the rest of the nation in the number of bombings. One federal law enforcement official described Miami as like Casablanca during World War II: "The Cubans we trained we trained well."

Some intelligence sources claim that Cuban exile terrorists murdered Salvadorean archbishop Romero and work as hired hit men for a variety of military regimes throughout Central and South America. And is our memory so short that we forget that Cuban exiles trained by the CIA were the actual White House plumbers under former President Nixon, the ones who broke into the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist and later into Watergate?

A U.S. Senate subcommittee report about the illegal and violent activities of foreign intelligence agencies in the U.S. indicated that the U.S. government through the CIA not only helped to create some of the agencies that have been among the leading practitioners of terrorism in their own countries and abroad, but also assisted to their activities on American soil.

Operation Condor is one example. According to the U.S. Senate subcommittee, six South American nations joined their intelligence agencies together in an operation designed to murder each other's exiled dissidents in foreign countries. In fact, many international assassinations were carried out through Condor. The CIA not only knew about Condor, but had been instrumental in establishing some of the intelligence services

Human rights is out, according to Alexander Haig, who sees all terrorists as Moscow tools.

that engaged in this routinized state-sponsored murder. Ancient history? Condor was formed some five years ago.

When General Haig declares an anti-terrorist policy, does he include all terrorism, even that carried out by "friendly" intelligence services, or is he referring exclusively to "unfriendly" Arabs, "fanatic" Iranians and "Soviet-sponsored" terrorism? Is he referring also to the rape-murders of the four American religious women in El Salvador, committed in territory controlled by government troops? And to the murder of two U.S. officials there shortly after? Does he also recall the Letelier-Moffitt assassination? The U.S. government has done nothing to sanction Chile for that act of terrorism. Even more incredibly, it has



Reagan's Secretary of State attributes all popular insurrections to the activities of terrorist agents.

rewarded the Salvadorean government for the murder of six U.S. nationals by reinstating military aid in the weeks after the murders!

If President Reagan and Secretary of State Haig are really talking about all terrorism then we at home have some history to recall and some policies to undo. We must punish the government of Chile severely for assassinating two people in Washington, we must cut all aid to El Salvador for its involvement in the mur-

der of six Americans, and we must limit the activities of so-called "friendly" foreign intelligence agencies that operate against their own nationals on our soil.

Whatever we do is taken as a lesson. If we plan to teach the rest of the world that terrorism of all kinds will not be permitted in our spheres we would logically have to clean our own house first. Without that, our moral force is nil. ■

Saul Landau is a senior fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies.

THE UNDIMINISHED MAN: A Political Biography of Robert Walker Kenny by Janet Stevenson

218 pp., 6 x 9", cloth \$10.95

Bob Kenny was the quintessential New Deal man—an almost perfect example of the citizen-politician that produced and was produced by the left-center coalition that came to power in the United States in the early years of Franklin D. Roosevelt's presidency. Kenny's story is the story of that coalition: how it was formed; what it was at its best; what it could have been; and what happened to it when Roosevelt died.

Bob Kenny—

- was a founder of the National Lawyers Guild, and its president for 7 years
- was the youngest person ever appointed to a judgeship in California
- was counsel for the Hollywood Ten and many other victims of McCarthyism

"... a splendid book. . . . Kenny, once the most promising Democratic leader in California, did an odd thing and faded into relative obscurity. He reversed an ancient principle of political survival and sacrificed his public career to conscience. He was never again to be fully trusted." Phil Kerby in the *L.A. Times* 5/22/80.

"Kenny stood as a beacon always against every wind that blew." Charles J. Katz in *The Calif. State Bar Journal*.

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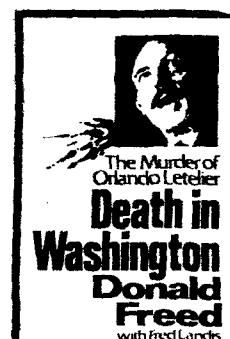
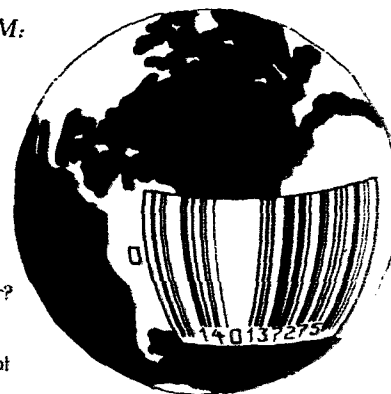
Holly Sklar, editor of *TRILATERALISM:
The Trilateral Commission and Elite
Planning for World Management*

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 28,
from 1-4 p.m.

What do George Bush, John Anderson, Jimmy Carter, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Henry Kissinger, Cyrus Vance, Walter Mondale and Andrew Young have in common with David Rockefeller?

How are the top executives of Exxon, General Motors, Coca Cola, Bank of America, CBS and Mitsubishi connected with the Prime Minister of France, the British Secretary of State, the West German Minister of Economics and the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs?

Answer: They all belong to the TRILATERAL COMMISSION.



Donald Freed, author of several books including *The Spymaster*, *Executive Action*, *China Card* and *Death in Washington*.

SATURDAY, MARCH 14, from 1-4 p.m.

Death in Washington is the result of research carried out with Fred Landis and the Citizens Research and Investigative Committee concerning the assassination of former Chilean Ambassador to the United States, Dr. Orlando Letelier. It reveals, for the first time, the involvement and complicity of Vice President George Bush.

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CHINA CARD

IN DEPTH

Unemployment is bad for your health, and the less you earned the worse it is

By Richard Lichtman

IT HAS LONG BEEN KNOWN that there is a relationship between social class and mental and physical distress, and that the poor suffer far greater mental illness than more privileged members of society. Traditional literature also has suggested that a relationship exists between the level of unemployment and severe psychological distress. Much social theory is refined common sense, so there is nothing surprising about this.

But the conclusion became inescapable when Harvey Brenner published *Mental Illness and the Economy* and established beyond any reasonable doubt that:

(1) Fluctuations in the economy, particularly in the level of unemployment, are the single most important source of changing rates of admission to mental hospitals.

(2) That in New York State (a conclusion since found valid for other states) the relationship has remained stable for 127 years.

(3) That for some groups "virtually no major factor other than economic instability appears to influence variation in their mental hospitalization rates."

(4) That the rate of admission to institutions for a given level of unemployment has grown greater in modern times, despite the vast apparatus of welfare benefits, unemployment compensation, increased mental facilities and a more intolerant social attitude towards mental disorder.

(5) That the sharpest impact of unemployment is felt by production workers.

(6) That the lower one's economic standing, the greater the cumulative impact of economic dislocation and unemployment. Brenner is aware of some of the unorthodox implications of his work:

"It appears from this study that many of the major reasons for psychiatric hospitalization...have to do with disruption of social ties of individuals; furthermore, these disruptions are not initially under the control of, or in any way due to, the behavior of the individuals in question."

"The major theoretical implication [of this study] is that despite our philosophic orientation, the destiny of the individual is to a great extent subject to large-scale changes in the social and economic structure that are in no way under his control. This perspective must eventually affect our understanding of individuality and personal freedom, even in modern times."

These reflections raise critical questions both on the level of national economic planning and on the more specific level of institutional policy. I will not explore the first issue, which would require consideration of the possibility of full employment under capitalism, but will ask what remedial actions of a psychiatric nature can be undertaken within the present social system to alleviate the effects of unemployment. Once again, Brenner makes observations that are useful:

"We may go so far as to say that since nearly all of the traditional psychotherapeutic techniques have as their aim the adjustment of the patient to the requirements and norms of society, the theories are individual-centered."

But the norms of this society identify personal worth with economic success. So what is the appropriate role of the

therapist working with an unemployed client? At first look, the prescribed therapy would be finding work for the client or, at least, to treat clients so as to make it possible for them to find work themselves. But Brenner notes that the situation that led to hospitalization is not "initially under the control of, or in any way due to, the behavior of the individuals in question." Obviously, the therapist is rendered helpless by the circumstances that have created the original disruption. So when Brenner comments that "This view of the social process by which mental illness or less of a severe problem points to the potential importance of the clinician's ability to affect the social situation in which he find his

onary artery disease, hypertension, peptic ulcer and infectious disease. In a society that equates human worth with material production and consumption, level of income and "matched" life style, it is to be expected that unemployment will lead to serious injury to the self and that this massive assault upon dignity and self-esteem will manifest itself throughout the body and mind of the affected population. The resultant pain, humiliation, human contraction and the searing dismemberment of social life is so overwhelming to the afflicted that nothing more seems required to explain their plight.

But capitalism operates simultaneously on several levels. It not only produces and distributes experience in accordance with its imperatives, but it rationalizes maldistribution through an ideology of individualism that has the secondary effect of turning rage inward and engaging the victims in their own persecution.

The ideology of individual responsibility requires that we learn from childhood how to turn attention from the malignant structures of social life to ourselves, and take upon ourselves final authority for the necessary defeats and anguish of our lives. This process not only immunizes the social system against organized rebellion, but simultaneously impoverishes the resources of the dispossessed. The unemployed therefore experience the direct pains of unemploy-

Since it lacks social perspective and tends to believe that society is produced by the simple addition of individual lives, the orthodox practice of therapy seeks out factors within the individual to account for unemployment, and thereby forces the unemployed further into the recesses of their own self-hatred.

Sharing helplessness.

But this perspective carries its own penalty. For just as the unemployed cannot change the conditions of their unemployment through an act of individual will, so the psychiatric practitioner cannot alleviate the distress of the unemployed client through the individualized techniques of psychotherapy. Social health workers are consequently driven into the same motives for self-condemnation that afflict their clients, and, paradoxically, come to share in the basic helplessness of those who attempt to confront a social structure with the tools of individual intervention. As the client takes the failure to find work inside of his or her "individualized" conscience, so the therapist personalizes the inability to aid the client and comes to that form of nameless rage, weariness, cynicism and despair so well known to those who work in the pretense of ministering welfare. As their frustration is personalized therapists often feel themselves furious at their clients for what appears a stubborn and willful failure to respond, or for what is taken as a



Unemployed workers lining up to apply for jobs in New York.

patient," he is tacitly acknowledging the uselessness of traditional therapy—because the therapist clearly has no ability to affect the social situation of the client.

Therefore, only stylistic caution on Brenner's part prevents a strong conclusion: "These findings raise questions about the utility of therapies that do not take into account disturbances in the patient's environment which have made treatment necessary," Brenner writes.

Therapy causes suffering.

If "traditional psychotherapeutic techniques" were merely useless, the situation would be far less deleterious than it is. Unfortunately, orthodox therapy contributes to the suffering it hopes to alleviate. With what is often the best intention in the world, therapists reinforce the social system that has produced the unemployment in question, and they compound the misery of the unemployed by blaming society's victims.

To understand how this process operates it is necessary to look more closely at the pathology produced by unemployment. The immediate effect of an increase in unemployment is a rise in the level of psychological disturbance, particularly depression, in suicide and homicide, family breakdown, including violence toward women and children, cor-

ruption through the magnified and distorted lens of self-denial. They take the inhumanity of capitalist irrationality within themselves and yoke their original devastation with the additional judgment that it is their own stupidity, laziness, self-interest or some nameless and global deficiency that is the final and justifiable source of their suffering. They deny, stigmatize, berate and devastate themselves for the fault in themselves that has led them into this crisis.

That victims blame themselves is a doctrine with considerable orthodox academic support. For it alleviates the establishment and its practitioners of the need for recognizing and confronting their role in the procedure. In my work with psychiatrists, psychologists and social workers occupied with ministering to the unemployed, I learned again in practice what I had previously only grasped in theory: that the traditional forms of therapy trace social devastation back to individual causes and thereby reinforce the self-punishment that afflicts the disadvantaged. By their presence in the general world of capitalist ideology, by specific training, by profession and its class interest, the therapeutic establishment concentrates its attention on the personal, subjective, internalized vicissitudes of individual childhood.

transparent device to avoid work and live off the "largess" of the "welfare" establishment.

To deal therapeutically with the unemployed it will be necessary to restructure therapeutic training. The dichotomy between political economy and psychology will have to be bridged through the development of a perspective recognizing that individual and social life are reflections of each other. The therapist who is taught to dwell in the internal labyrinth of the individual psyche is not avoiding the social realm. It continues to insinuate itself into the client, the therapist and their relationship. But as it enters unannounced, its effect is oppressive and beyond control. For therapists to move from the function of psychological adjusters and jailers of the oppressed to their servants in emancipation, will require a new commitment to political activity and social awareness, the first stage in the development of a significant social struggle not merely to aid the devastated, but also to join with them in a common cause grounded in a recognition of common disability and oppression.

Richard Lichtman has written widely on Marx and Freud. He teaches in the San Francisco Bay Area.

Public served by New Dealer

The Undiminished Man

By Janet Stevenson
Chandler & Sharp Publishers,
Novato, Calif., 218 pp., \$10.95

By Martin Popper

In 1956 Robert W. Kenny appeared before the U.S. Supreme Court to argue the Yates Case as the attorney for William Schneiderman, a leader of the Communist Party. Twenty years earlier he had represented Schneiderman in a denaturalization proceeding designed to deprive Schneiderman of his citizenship.

Between those two appearances, Bob Kenny had been, among other things, Superior Court Judge, State Senator for Los Angeles County, Attorney General of California, leader of the Democratic Party in the state and its nominee for governor in the unsuccessful campaign against Earl Warren in 1946, president of the National Lawyers Guild and counsel to the Hollywood Ten.

The story of this extraordinary man's career, less known than it should be to Americans whose involvement in political affairs began in the 1960s, has now been told by Janet Stevenson in *The Undiminished Man*. I commend it to readers as an informative account of "the struggles, victories and defeats" of an important political leader whose active life spanned the New Deal, World War II and the Cold War.

Following his graduation from Stanford University, Kenny became a newspaperman. Assigned to cover the courts, he soon involved himself in local politics and decided to become a lawyer. Family connections, an engaging personality and an ability and desire to be where the action was resulted in rapid appointments to a series of public and judicial jobs, each of which he used astutely as stepping stones to higher office.

In 1938, Kenny became Attorney General of California, the only Democrat elected to statewide office in a Republican sweep led by Earl Warren. Kenny became the leader of his party in California and in 1942 he was re-elected with the support of his party as well as the labor movement, independents and the left.

As Attorney General, Kenny greatly increased the powers of that office, using it as an effective instrument against police brutality, exploitation of migrant labor and restrictive covenants. He initiated legal steps to outlaw school segregation and to protect the property and human rights of Japanese-Americans returning to their homes from the infamous concentration camps. Kenny's activities were consistent with the policies and programs of the Roosevelt administration. But the more enduring fact about Kenny is that he was committed to live by the fundamentals of those policies. He shared with those policies a

view of fairness and equality at home and peace and independence around the world.

In 1940 he became president of the National Lawyers Guild at a time when it was under attack from within and without. He did so at considerable risk to his promising political future and in the face of resignations from the Guild by many of the leading figures of the New Deal. He remained as president of the National Lawyers Guild until 1947, well into the beginning of the Cold War. During six of those years he was Attorney General of California.

In 1946, upon the insistence of the labor movement and the left in California, Kenny reluctantly became the Democratic candidate for Governor against Earl Warren. He liked and respected Warren and doubted he could win. He also knew that he could have remained Attorney General as long as he wanted and that as leader of the Democratic Party in a key state he had a real chance to become its candidate for vice president in 1948. All that would be placed in jeopardy by an electoral defeat. Nevertheless, he felt obliged to carry on the cause of the Roosevelt coalition. So in the end he agreed to run, deferring to those whose integrity he respected more than he did their political sagacity. He lost. His defeat ended his career in public office but it gave added impetus to his enormous contribution as a political activist.

Citizen-politician.

Stevenson writes of Kenny that he is "the quintessential New



Robert W. Kenny served as counsel to the Hollywood ten.

Kenny is the 'quintessential New Deal man,' an example of the citizen-politician that came to power with Roosevelt.

Deal man—an almost perfect example of the citizen-politician that produced and was produced by the left-center coalition that came to power in the U.S. in the early years of FDR's presidency." The characterization is valid but inadequate. Kenny had a far greater understanding of the political process than most of those citizen-politicians. He courageously adhered to the

democratic values that many New Dealers abandoned on their way to becoming Cold War liberals. The attributes that set him apart were not simply the instinctive reactions of a humane and compassionate person. They were also the intellectual responses of a sophisticated political leader. To appreciate this one has only to compare his evaluation of Harry Truman to that

of the former New Dealers who supported Truman's policies.

"As far as history was concerned," Kenny said, "we could all have turned in our suits and headed for the showers the day Roosevelt was replaced by an ignorant, border politician who set out to reverse all Roosevelt's policies on cooperation and co-existence with the Soviet Union, not to speak of his domestic programs. People forget that it was Truman who threatened to draft striking railroad workers into the army and instituted the infamous Loyalty Oath for federal employees."

Kenny understood that the survival of the progressive movement depended upon its ability to avoid being splintered by anti-communism. Though not a Marxist and at times irritated by what he felt was their rigid view of practical affairs, Kenny believed that in the mid-20th century Socialists and Communists were a natural component of any serious movement for significant social and economic change. He acted upon this conviction in many ways as lawyer, citizen and judge. He was chief counsel to the Hollywood Ten and scores of other victims of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. His participation in the Yates Case contributed substantially to the mitigation of the Smith Act by the federal government. The very existence of the National Lawyers Guild owes much to his leadership. The book's chapter on the origin and early history of the Guild is particularly valuable to anyone interested in that period.

In a moving foreword, Kenny's friend, Carey McWilliams, pays tribute to Kenny as one who "accepted the burdens and the often vicious red-baiting with his usual good nature, never taking himself too seriously, never losing his cool." When Kenny was asked what in his career was he most proud of he replied "the eight years in the late 1940s and 1950s" when he had defended "reds" and "radicals" who had been denied their constitutional rights. When he was asked whether he regretted the course he had taken, he said, "No. Think of all the things I would have missed if I hadn't done what I've done."

Continued on page 15

THE PATRIOT GAME

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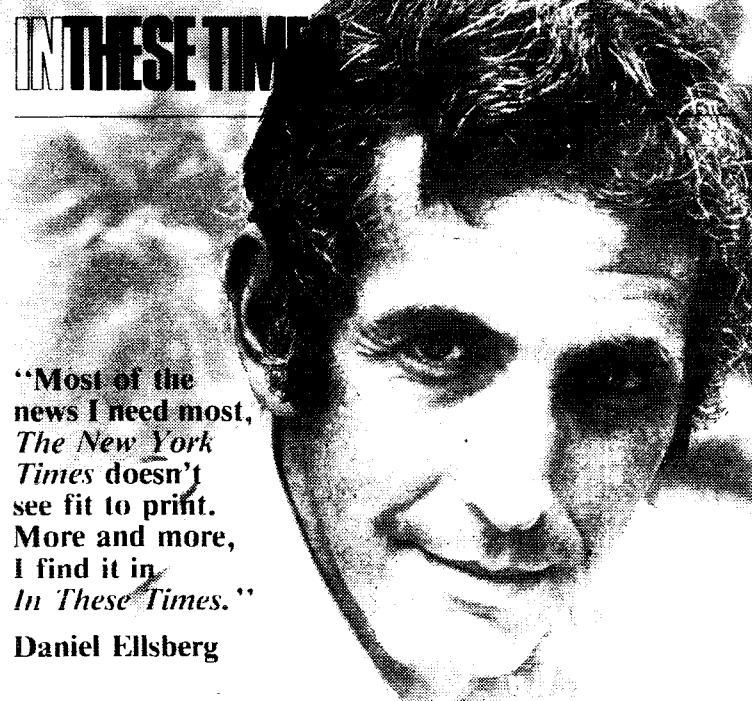
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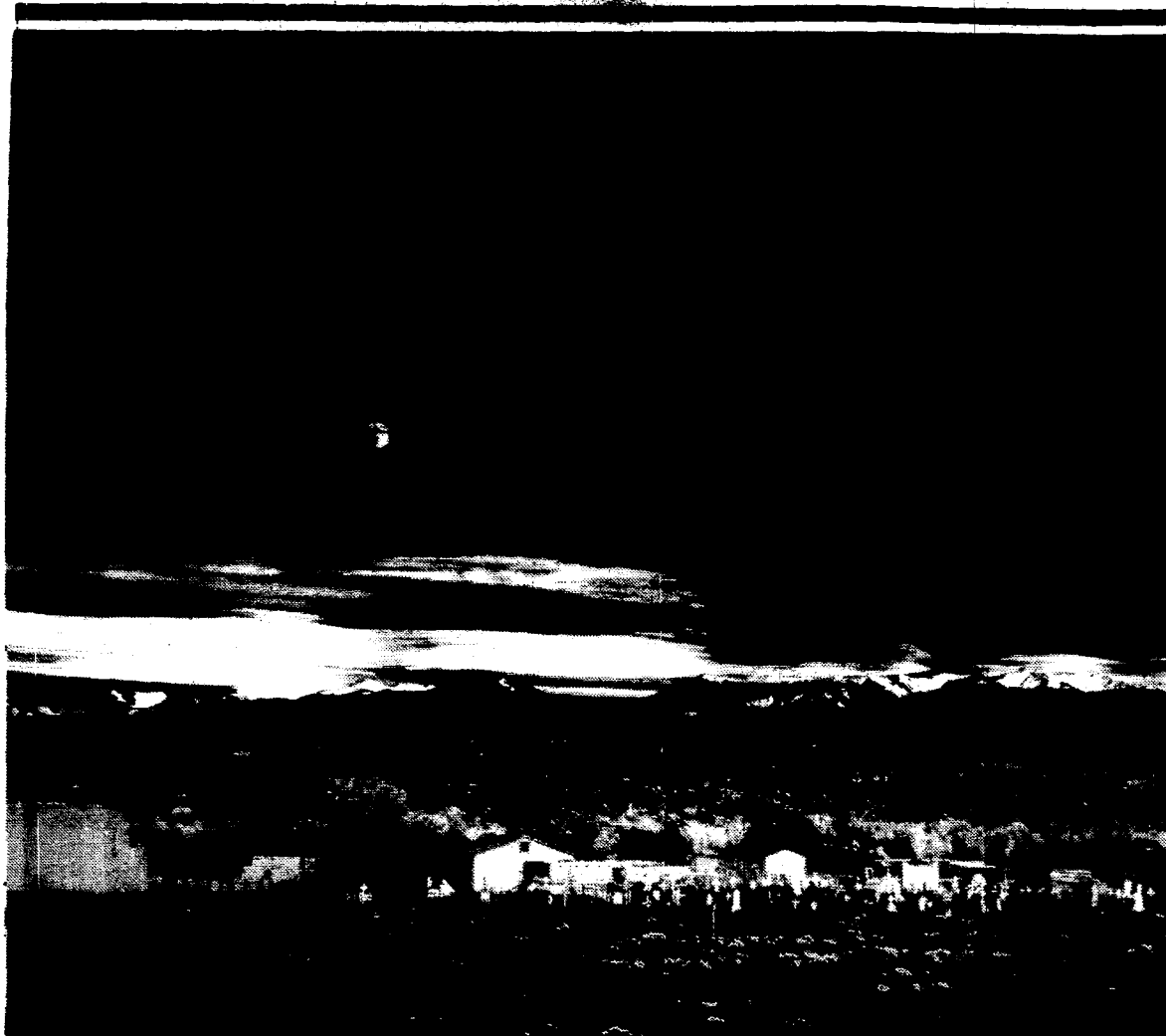
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IN THESE TIMES

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STD1

LIFE IN THE U.S.



Hazards from uranium mining in New Mexico will continue long after the mines have shut down.

THE ENVIRONMENT

Navajos mined cancer

By Elisa Adler

"Wait!" cried the teacher, running after us into the schoolyard. "What's this about the school walls being radioactive?"

The teacher came west from Connecticut four months ago to teach Navajo children at Red Valley School on the edge of Monument Valley in northeastern Arizona. No one had told her that a recent radiological scan by the Navajo Protection Commission showed high gamma radiation readings at the school house and 16 other buildings in the immediate vicinity. The school is radioactive, built with uranium tailings, the sand and scree byproducts of excavated uranium ore.

Twenty miles east in Shiprock, New Mexico, children chase across 72 acres of radioactive uranium tailings on their way home from school. Some come home with burning sores if they've waded in water that flows over the tailings. Others will show none of the effects of radiation until much later, when latent cancers mature or when these children bear children with birth defects or physical and mental retardation. The tailings, produced and abandoned by Kerr McGee, continue to emit 85 percent of the radiation present in the original uranium ore.

But while the radiation is bad for the children, it is worse for the miners who long have worked the mines that produced the radioactive waste.

Former Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall last year filed suit on behalf of 130 disabled Navajo miners and miners' widows against AMAX, Foote Mineral and Kerr McGee, mining companies that employed Navajos in their uranium mines from 1948 to 1966, and in a separate

action sued the U.S. government, which knew of uranium mining hazards but did nothing to protect the Navajo workers.

Although the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) knew that 50-75 percent of the workers in European uranium mines had died of lung cancer, they set neither health nor safety regulations for mining operations in Navajo land. With no other employment available, Navajo men flocked to work in the mines six days a week for 90 cents an hour.

Life and death in the mines.

In Cove, Red Valley, where Kerr McGee opened its first uranium mine in 1950 and where most of the plaintiff miners and widows live, Minnie Begay hangs the smiling photograph of her dead son on the wall. The wall is radioactive. It was built with sand and rocks from the wash where radioactive tailings flowed from the mine where her son worked. Her husband, Frank, coughs and breathes with difficulty. The doctor says he has pulmonary fibrosis from working in the uranium mines.

The men who first worked in the Cove mines when Kerr McGee blasted into the red crags of Monument Valley and began extracting uranium ore are dead or dying. They began work in 1948, three years after nuclear scientists first tested the atomic bomb at the Trinity Site in New Mexico. The AEC soon authorized uranium purchases to stockpile a nuclear weapons arsenal, and corporations swept across the Southwest in a uranium prospecting Gold Rush.

While Frank Nashcheebetah herded sheep above his hogan in 1948, he happened upon "yellow cake," a powder deposit of uranium ore. He took the sample to Kerr McGee in Ojato and a few days later, several men on

horseback appeared at his hogan asking to be taken to the mine. Within a year, Frank Nashcheebetah sold his grazing permit and land rights to Kerr McGee, and roads leading to mine sites were under construction. Nashcheebetah, who worked in the mines that he had discovered, breathes with difficulty. He has contracted pulmonary fibrosis. Two of his sons died in the mines.

Ray Joe worked in the Kerr McGee mine at Cove Mountain 10 years. He has lung cancer. "When the driller drilled the ore, they blasted and then they'd go right back in there in the smoke and dust," he explained. "We all had lung trouble. The doctor just gave me pills every year. I was having a hard time breath-

ing. Each week someone was going to the hospital."

Lee John worked in the uranium mines 20 years until he died of lung cancer in 1970. His widow, Mae John, whose two brothers also died of lung cancer, remembers what it was like for the men in the mines: "After the blasting, maybe 10 or 15 minutes later, the men were chased back in there, told 'go back to work.' They even used to eat inside the mine, even drink the water dripping inside the mine. There were little puddles of water, and that's where they drank from. And they breathed in all that dust and smoke. That's what caused the people to die. They used to wear their regular clothes and come home without changing them. My husband, he came home with headaches every day. And his breath smelled like a sewer from drinking that water. Sometimes my husband used to drive the truck that would take in the ore. They had two drivers and if one got tired he'd just go back and sleep. They were sleeping right in that ore."

The worst stage of the fuel cycle.

Some 3,500 men working in the mines during the '50s and '60s were exposed to between 100 and 1,000 times the maximum limit of "safe" exposure to radon gas, the radiation emitted from uranium ore.

When Udall briefed his clients at the Red Valley Chapter House last October, he called uranium mining "the most insidious stage of the nuclear fuel cycle." According to a Nuclear Regulatory Commission report, "Uranium mining and milling are currently the most significant sources of radiation exposure to the public from the entire uranium fuel cycle, far surpassing other stages of the fuel cycle, such as nuclear power reactors or high-level radioactive waste disposal."

The uranium contamination that Udall accused the U.S. government of permitting, and for which he holds Kerr McGee, AMAX and Foote Mineral Co. liable, is not limited to mine sites, but has been dispersed by the wind and rain throughout the Southwest. Radium-bearing sediments have entered the Colorado River Basin, which supplies water to much of the Southwest. As early as the late '50s, the Federal Water Pollution Control Agency determined that uranium waste had polluted the Animas River, which Farmington

and Aztec, N.M., depend on for irrigation and drinking water. At least 113 million tons of uranium tailings at active milling sites, and 27 million tons at inactive sites, continue to emit radiation into the environment.

Victor Gilinsky, a nuclear physicist and Nuclear Regulatory Commission member, says the tailings will continue to release radon gas for more than 100,000 years unless isolated from the atmosphere. Such isolation would require that tailings be buried under 30 feet of soil or eight feet of cement. Opposition to any imposition of new tailings disposal criteria was aired before a congressional committee by George L. Gleason, former vice president of the American Nuclear Energy Council in 1978. He argued that "such criteria could place an economic hardship on mill operations and disrupt production."

The children suffer too.

For people living near tailings, the risk of lung cancer doubles. In Grand Junction, Colo., where 300,000 tons of uranium tailings were used in construction, mongolism in newborn infants tripled. Heart defects have increased in Shiprock's health service unit. While mental and physical handicaps normally appear at random throughout a population, in areas with a history of uranium mining, handicaps are

Continued on the facing page

Some Navajo kids go to schools that emit radiation.



CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$20.00 for two insertions and \$10.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 40 words or less (additional words are 35¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of Bill Rehm.

NEW YORK, N.Y.

February 24

Stanley Aronowitz, author of "False Promises" and editor of "Social Text," will speak on "American Jewry and the Rise of the New Right" at Congregation Anshe Chesed, 100th Street and West End Avenue. Tuesday at 7:30 p.m. Donation requested. Sponsored by the Jewish Socialist Youth Bund.

February 28

"Advancing the cause of union democracy." All-day conference discussions on the law and recent union events led by Joseph A. Yablonski, Clyde Summers, Burt Hall, H.W. Benson, Ken Paff

of TDU, Frank Schonfeld, Margaret Hayden. Place: Workmen's Circle Center, 45 E. 33 St., Manhattan. Time: 9:00 a.m.-4:45 p.m. Registration: \$5 regular; \$2 low income; \$15 and up contributory. Send advance fee to sponsor: Association for Union Democracy, 215 Park Ave. South, NYC 10003.

March 10

Soviet Policy and the Third World. Fred Halliday, who recently returned from Kabul, Afghanistan, is an authority on the Middle East and will speak on his experiences and observations. He has written for "The Nation" and "In These Times" and is the author of "Iran: Dictatorship and Development." Admission is free. At the Riverside Church Disarmament Program, 490 Riverside Drive, at 7:30 p.m. For more information, call 749-7000.

CHICAGO, ILL.

February 26

"Nuclear Power—Can We Afford It?" Speakers from the Illinois Office of Consumer Services, Illinois Public Action Council and Operation PUSH. Thursday at

7:00 p.m. at DePaul University, 25 E. Jackson. Sponsored by Citizens Against Nuclear Power. \$2.00. Call 786-9041 or 472-2492 for more information.

February 26

The Black Ensemble Theater Corporation presents the "History of Black Theater in America" at Cross Currents, 3201 N. Wilton. The history of black theater should be seen by people of all colors because it represents cultural communication, which is one of the keys to understanding ourselves and the world around us. Curtain time is 8:00 p.m. Tickets are \$5.00. For reservations call: 751-0263.

NEVADA CITY, CA

May 22-25

The Western Socialist Social Science Conference, co-sponsored by the Red Feather Institute, invites workshop proposals on any aspect—theoretical, practical or cultural—of a socialist future. For more information, contact: Kreplin, Department of Sociology, University of Nevada, Reno, NV 89557.

Kenny

Continued from page 13

This review can give only the barest glimpse of Kenny's life. The whole story is to be found in *The Undiminished Man*. The book captures much of Kenny's colorful personality, his capacity to like and be liked by people of every kind, his wit, which deflated the pompous to the delight of countless audiences, and his unpretentious joy of good living. I agree with Carey McWilliams that "Janet Stevenson's biography provides an invaluable source to the on-coming generation about Robert Kenny's extraordinarily interesting career." **Martin Popper**, a New York attorney, was associated with Robert W. Kenny as an officer of the National Lawyers Guild, as a consultant to the U.S. delegation at the founding conference of the United Nations and as counsel for the Hollywood Ten.

Navajos

Continued from the facing page disproportionately high. Two cases of congenital leukemia were diagnosed in Shiprock recently, a disease so rare that two simultaneous cases is alarming. Likewise, congenital hip defect, where one leg is shorter than the other, occurs in 5 percent of the Navajo newborn, compared with a 1 to 2 percent rate nationwide.

Relocating families from radioactive homes and active or inactive mining sites is one way to solve the immediate problem of radon contamination. David Dreesen, a scientist at Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory, suggested in a departmental newsletter, "Perhaps the solution to the radon problem is to zone the land in uranium mining and milling districts and forbid human habitation." Forty-one Navajo families have already been mov-

ed from their homes, a move that invariably means their exchanging the traditional hogan for a mobile home.

But American Indian Movement (AIM) activists oppose such relocation efforts as reminiscent of the 19th-century policy of relocating Indians on what was then thought to be worthless land. What the miners and widows want is not relocation, but \$30 million plus an unspecified amount for punitive damages.

Udall, citing the precedent of "strict liability" used by a federal jury in the Karen Silkwood case against Kerr McGee, said there's a good chance the Navajos will win the case against the U.S. government and the mining companies. In the Silkwood case, Kerr McGee was found guilty of plutonium contamination and charged by the court to pay \$10.5 million to her estate. Udall explained that "strict liability is a theory of law that says that if an activity is abnormally dangerous, all you have to show is that it is abnormally danger-

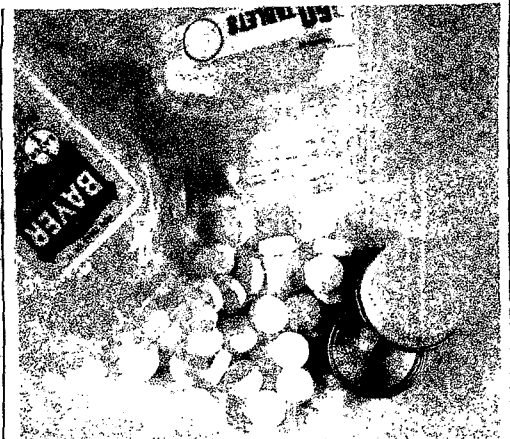
CULTURE SHOCK

JUST AVERAGE

The authors of a book, *American Averages*, report that the "average American" swallows 215 aspirin a year, drinks 374 beers, owes \$5,045.91 and has a dog that weighs 32 pounds.

SO INVEST IN LUGGAGE

The U.S. Court of Appeals has held,



reports *Washington Monthly*, that paper bags may be searched without a war-

rant, but that zippered leather pouches require one for a search.

ous and that the defendants knew that."

But even if Navajo miners and widows win compensation, long-range problems of continuing uranium contamination remain, unless repeated suits against mining corporations make mining

costs prohibitive. Until that happens, the three operating uranium mines, two on Navajo land and another nearby, will continue discharging radiation into the environment daily.

Elisa Adler is a writer in California.

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PUBLICATIONS

49 BIBLICAL CONTRADICTIONS. \$3.00. Discovery, Box 20331-IT, WVC, Utah 84120.

FREE SAMPLE COPY. Southern Libertarian Messenger, Box 1245, Florence, SC 29503. Gothick Politics and other Bizarro Tales from Dixie.

AREAS OF CONCERN — Harry Hyde's newsletter for concerned citizens. Free sample (mention ITT): AOC, Box 47, Bryn Mawr, PA 19010.

TRANSCRIPTS: Symposium on El Salvador and U.S. Policy in the Region, held on Jan. 16, 1981, in Berkeley, Ca. Featuring: Roy Prosserman, Advisor on Agrarian Reform to Salvadorean Government, Philip Wheaton, Director of EPICA, Luigi Einaudi, U.S. State Department, Carlos Velo, Representative of the FDR and other panelists. Make \$10.00 check to FACHRES (Faculty Committee on Human Rights in El Salvador), 613 Eshelman Hall, Berkeley, CA 94704. (415) 642-7783.

BEYOND MONOGAMY. Open relationships newsletter. \$9.00/year, sample \$1.00. Box 12514-IT, Denver, CO 80212.

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EDUCATION

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Sector 27, Tom Robinson's new band, makes its U.S. debut.



TOM ROBINSON'S VOICE, NEVER a particularly melodious instrument, had been reduced to a croaking whisper when he admitted that he was "scared shit" about performing in San Francisco and thanked the large crowd at The Stone for being so friendly to him and his new band, Sector 27.

I suspect that Robinson was nervous because he feared the fans who cheered his former group, the Tom Robinson Band (TRB), would not accept his new band. Sector 27 "is not a didactic band," Robinson told a group of journalists at a press conference the previous day. "It's not the function of this group to tell people what they want to hear."

This was in sharp contrast to TRB, which remains, the Clash and Gang of Four notwithstanding, the most explicitly left-wing rock band in recent history, led by an outspoken participant in the gay rights movement. In its two and a half years of existence, TRB released two albums filled with uncompromising attacks on racism, sexism, homophobia and the international turn towards reaction and repression. Yet the band's commitments extended beyond vinyl. They took an active part in Britain's Rock Against Racism movement and, on their second American album, published an extensive list of left political and cultural organizations in the U.S.

Although Robinson is pleased that his new band no longer has "a hierarchy of lyrics over music" and isn't as preachy as TRB, he insists that his political beliefs remain unchanged. "I'm anti-fascist, anti-racist, pro-women's liberation, pro-gay rights," he said. "I stand by the statements made on those two [TRB] albums." To illustrate this, Robinson said that Sector 27 appeared recently at a rally in West Germany against the NPD, a neo-Nazi organization.

Robinson's new songs, many of which were co-written with band members Jo Burt (bass), Stevie B. (guitar), and Derek Quinton (drums), emphasize personal experience. Tom explained to me that his new band's songs "aren't addressed to a specific issue or specific subject matter."

Sector 27 songs have to do with either an attitude or an air

of emotion."

This change does not mean that Robinson has returned to the closet. He introduced "Can't Keep Away," Sector 27's first U.S. single, by saying, "This song is about Darlington Station, which has been very close to my heart ever since I discovered its men's room." And the significance of "Mary Lynne," a remembrance of being humiliated and taunted with a girl's name as a schoolboy, should not be lost on anyone who had been moved or challenged by TRB's "Glad to Be Gay."

Much more striking is the musical difference between Sector 27 and TRB. One of the ironies of Robinson's old group was that its radical message was contained in a traditional rock and roll style, a format that Robinson now considers "square." In contrast, Sector 27's music shares the tonal sensibilities and rhythmic intensity of the most daring post-punk British rock, especially in Derek Quinton's use of synthetic percussion and a pounding-in-nails drum beat, and Stevie B.'s metallic, bone-rattling guitar sound. For Tom, the reason for this change is obvious, since Sector 27 is much more a collective endeavor than TRB was: "Since [Sector 27] is a band as such, the people in it are expressing their own musical ideas rather than mine particularly. And the way that they'd interpret a song that even I wrote on my own is in the style of those three players, which forms the Sector style. So I don't think it's surprising that it is dissimilar."

"TRB broke up after the last U.S. tour because of the pressures of unexpected success," Robinson explained. After this "shattering" experience, Tom called up an old friend, Jo Burt, who had just completed two years of playing bass with the Troggs, and the two started writing and putting Sector 27 together. They easily found drummer Derek Quinton, but it took auditions of over 60 guitarists before they located Stevie B. At the press conference, Robinson joked that he worried that because "Stevie is so pretty, everybody would think that he got the job not for his musical ability." Finally the band settled on a name, which was taken from an Allen Ginsberg poem.

After the group recorded an album and brought it to EMI, the giant British company with whom Robinson still had a long-term contract, the company decided to drop them. As Burt recalled,

The New Family Robinson

By Bruce Dancis

"EMI kind of assumed that when we presented the album that this was going to slot into their readymade market, and it didn't." As the band tried to sort out their problems with EMI, they released a single on their own independent label in Britain, Panic Records.

Jo continued the story: "When we released that independent single we thought, 'Fuck the majors. We'll come over to New York and pick up an American record deal.' We met exactly the same response there. Nobody was sure where the market for us was. Nobody was prepared to put their neck on the line and say, 'Yes. This is good,' or 'We can make an audience for this.' So we went back to England empty-handed. In the end, the only people who were prepared to put their faith in us was I.R.S., again an independent record company."

There is a particular irony in Sector 27's finding a home with an independent label. When I interviewed Robinson two years ago (*In These Times*, May 16, 1979) we spent a lot of time talking about the contradictions involved in being a socialist and working with a multinational corporation. With his customary honesty, Robinson met the issue squarely, acknowledging that EMI had a weapons division, a fact that he had to compare with the vast exposure TRB received because they were on a major label. At that time he had concluded, "You don't have an awful lot of choice. You can leave the job on the grounds of conscience, but somebody else will gladly fill the place. It won't prevent weapons divisions from existing. So you end up having to live with that contradiction. You can't resolve it; you can only be open about it."

I asked Tom how he now viewed that situation. "The scene has changed," he replied. "It changed very rapidly after TRB emerged. At the time, which was the middle of '77, independent labels as a serious force to be reckoned with didn't exist. It wasn't a serious option. Within nine months it was, and since

then, in Britain at least, independents have been breaking acts into the charts. So given today's set of circumstances, it would have been very exciting to go entirely independent. Had these circumstances existed back then, perhaps some of those pressures and contradictions wouldn't have been exerted, and perhaps TRB would still be together." He then quoted T.S. Eliott, "But what might have been remains a perpetual possibility only in the world of speculation."

What isn't speculative is the success Sector 27 has achieved in its short life. Burt noted that since their debut album was released, the band has received more radio airplay in the U.S. than TRB gained in its entire existence. On their current U.S. tour Sector 27 opened four large concerts for The Police. At one sold-out show in New York's Madison Square Garden the band learned from Dave Garrity, their American representative, that they could "play a big hall and not get booed off the stage."

Bruce Dancis is a rock journalist in Oakland, CA